

Ruling against FBI scores victory for political rights

Judge says use of informers violates Constitution

BY LARRY SEIGLE

The government has no right to use informers, disruption programs, or break-ins against political organizations, a federal judge has ruled.

The victory for constitutional rights came August 25 in a suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the U.S. government.

Spying and disruption by FBI snitches and provocateurs is "patently unconstitutional," ruled U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa in a 210-page decision.

The FBI used its informers "to obtain private information about political meetings, demonstrations and other lawful events and their participants. It is the court's conclusion that this was wholly incompatible with the SWP's First Amendment right to freely assemble and freely speak on political matters."

"This decision repudiates the claim by the government that the SWP and YSA—and anyone else who actively opposes Washington's policies—are fair game for FBI spying, harassment, and disruption," said Jackie Floyd, YSA national secretary, at a news conference the day of the ruling.

"The impact of this decision goes far beyond the SWP and YSA," said Leonard Boudin, attorney for the SWP and YSA and one of the leading constitutional rights lawyers in the country. "This ruling is a contribution to constitutional law, extending important new protections to the rights of all politically active individuals and organizations."

Government attorneys told reporters they were "studying" the opinion to decide whether to appeal.

The FBI had no comment.

Griesa ruled that hundreds of proven burglaries by the FBI of party offices to plant bugs or to steal and photograph letters and other documents were "obvious violations of the Fourth Amendment." The Fourth Amendment forbids "unreasonable searches and seizures" by the government.

The judge also held that the disruption program carried out by the FBI, known as Cointelpro (an acronym for "counter-intelligence program"), was illegal.

The FBI embarked on a series of actions with the express purpose of harming the SWP by causing internal mistrust and strife, by weakening its alliances with other groups, by hampering its scheduled activities and by other means. There was no legal authority or justification for such operations."

Rejecting the Justice Department's claim that the FBI campaign was justified because the FBI believed there was evidence of illegal activities by the SWP and the YSA, Griesa stressed, "Over the course of approximately 30 years, there is no indication that any [FBI] informant ever observed any violation of federal law or gave information leading to a single arrest for any federal law violation."

Despite his ruling in favor of the socialists on the constitutional issues, the judge awarded the plaintiffs only a tiny fraction of the \$40 million damages they had demanded. Under the law allowing damage suits against the federal government, there is a two-year statute of limitations. This means that if you know about a violation of your rights or an injury but fail to file a suit within two years, you give up your right to collect damages.

Although almost all of the FBI's crimes

were carried out in secret, and therefore couldn't be proved, the judge ruled that, for example, because party members suspected that the FBI was wiretapping their phones as far back as 1940, they gave up their right to collect damages by not taking legal action then. As a result, although the FBI admitted massive wiretapping and bugging in the 1940s and 1950s, Griesa denied any money in damages for these invasions of privacy.

The judge relied on similar reasoning to throw out most of the SWP and YSA damage claims, in the end awarding them only \$264,000.

The lawsuit that led to Griesa's ruling was filed in 1973 by the SWP and YSA, and several individual members of the organizations. The government responded with lies and cover-ups of the truth, and with attempts to make the continuation of the suit so expensive and time-consuming that no working-class group could manage to keep up the fight.

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Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Attorney Leonard Boudin (center) discusses court victory with reporters. To Boudin's left is Jackie Floyd, national secretary of Young Socialist Alliance.

Green Berets set to train 'contras'

BY CATHERINE FRASER

Reagan administration officials have announced plans to send U.S. troops to Honduras to train commanders of the terrorist bands (known as *contras*) waging war on the government and people of Nicaragua.

The August 21 *New York Times* reported that the administration's plan calls for the use of soldiers from Special Forces, known as Green Berets. The Green Berets specialize in training soldiers of other countries, especially in counterinsurgency warfare.

Training costs will be covered by the \$100 million in military and economic aid to the contras recently voted by both houses of Congress. A second priority in allocating these funds, the *Times* reported, will be the setting up of a logistics apparatus so these mercenary troops can mount long-range operations inside Nica-

ragua and be assured of steady supplies from the outside.

The majority of the mercenary forces are based in Honduras, in camps near that country's border with Nicaragua. There are also currently 1,000 U.S. troops on duty in Honduras.

In a statement issued on August 22, however, Honduran Foreign Minister Carlos López Contreras's initial response was that his government would not permit the use of U.S. troops to train contras on Honduran territory. U.S. government officials say that objections by the Honduran government will be overcome with a new military and economic aid package.

The governments of Panama and El Salvador have also said they will refuse to allow U.S. soldiers to train Nicaraguan rebels on their territory. "The government of El Salvador will not lend its territory for

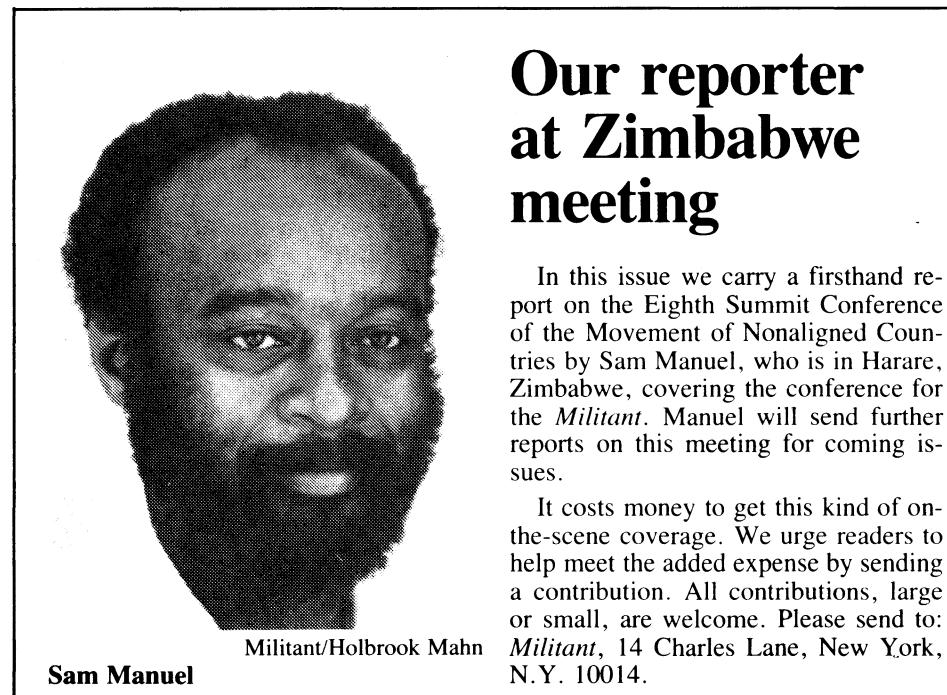
any destabilizing opposition force," Vice-president Rodolfo Castillo said, "especially in the case" of the Nicaraguan rebels.

The announcement of the planned training program came the day after an interview with President Ronald Reagan was made public, in which he explicitly stated his support for the overthrow of Nicaragua's Sandinista government.

Reagan told the Mexican newspaper *Excelsior* on August 14 that if the Sandinistas did not move toward "democratization" in Nicaragua, "then the only alternative is for the freedom fighters to have their way and take over."

Commenting on Reagan's statement, White House spokesman Dan Howard said that this represented "no change" in policy. Reagan was simply stating the administration's "ultimate goal," he said.

Debate is brewing at Nonaligned conference



Our reporter at Zimbabwe meeting

In this issue we carry a firsthand report on the Eighth Summit Conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries by Sam Manuel, who is in Harare, Zimbabwe, covering the conference for the *Militant*. Manuel will send further reports on this meeting for coming issues.

It costs money to get this kind of on-the-scene coverage. We urge readers to help meet the added expense by sending a contribution. All contributions, large or small, are welcome. Please send to: *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

BY SAM MANUEL

HARARE, Zimbabwe — Delegates to the Eighth Summit Conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries being held here will consider a proposal to host the next summit conference of the movement in Managua, Nicaragua.

The draft declaration of the conference condemns U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and the rest of Central America. It calls on the U.S. government to comply with the rulings of the World Court and to pay reparations to Nicaragua.

It has been reported that Washington, through its diplomatic personnel here, has expressed displeasure with the proposal for Nicaragua to host the next summit. Washington is working hard to influence the delegates to choose a more "neutral" site.

ZIANA, the Zimbabwe Inter-African News Agency, reported that a U.S. embassy spokesman has denied that U.S. officials are attempting to influence the conference. The spokesman added, however, that the State Department has sent two "junior

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Locked-out USX Steelworkers discuss solidarity

BY DAVID SALNER
AND JOE KLEIDON

LORAIN, Ohio — "We need to be able to support other unions, but right now it's illegal for us to stop work for another union."

That was one of many concerns

Two of us went to the mill to talk to Steelworkers about their struggle against the largest U.S. steelmaker and to introduce them to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The workers told us about what

straight rounds of concessions. But these givebacks did not save jobs. The company used the concessions to weaken the union and eventually bring in nonunion workers and eliminate union jobs.

The Steelworkers we talked to think USX's demands for further takebacks are part of the same union-busting pattern. Three weeks earlier 1,900 Steelworkers were working in the mill. Then the company laid off all but 300. On August 1 the company locked out the rest, forcing the union onto the picket lines.

Early in the discussion we pointed to the *Militant's* coverage

of the meatpackers' struggle in Austin, Minnesota. The Steelworkers were glad to hear that the battle against the Hormel company was continuing.

"I could identify with him from my own experience," one worker said about suspended Local P-9 President Jim Guyette, whom he saw on ABC television's "Nightline" show. "I'm kind of hazy about issues, but I really wanted to do something to help that guy."

The workers were interested in the *Militant's* coverage of the struggle of the South African people. They also said that labor had to back farmers and liked the

fact that farmers in the Lorain area had sent 41 truckloads of hay to help drought-stricken southern farmers.

The five workers we spoke to were anxious for other working people to find out about their struggle.

They were especially receptive to the *Militant's* special subscription offer. For \$3.50 you can get 12 issues of the paper plus a copy of the new pamphlet, "The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota."

Two of the five bought subscriptions.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

expressed by members of United Steelworkers of America Local 1104 picketing outside the sprawling USX steel mill here.

had happened to the unions in the adjoining shipyard. The shipyard workers, who are divided into many craft unions, accepted three

Campaign for 10,000 new readers off to good start

BY ERNEST HARSCH

In cities, towns, factories, and schools around the country, supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are signing up new subscribers.

Initial reports indicate notable receptivity to the two socialist publications.

"I'm glad to see people kicking up a little dust," a Black student activist in Barnesville, Georgia, said as she bought a subscription to the *Militant*.

In Chicago, supporters of the *Militant* who belong to the electrical workers' union sold four subscriptions to their coworkers, using the *Militant's* coverage of the struggle of the Hormel meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, as an example of the kind of reporting that working people cannot find anywhere else.

In the coming weeks, until November 15, supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will aim to win 10,000 new readers.

For \$3.50, new subscribers will receive 12 issues of the *Militant* and a copy of the new Pathfinder Press pamphlet, "The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota," by Fred Halstead, or for \$2.50, five issues of *Perspectiva Mundial* and the Spanish-language edition of the pamphlet.

This subscription drive began immediately after an August 9-14 Socialist Educational and Activists Conference held in Oberlin, Ohio. At that conference, members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance set the 10,000 goal, raising it from a target of 5,000 previously announced by the two publications.

The drive is being organized by SWP and YSA branches and chapters and their active supporters. They will sell the bulk of the subscriptions.

In addition, 20 teams are also hitting the road to sell subscriptions at plants, mines, farm protests, colleges, and high schools throughout the United States and in Puerto Rico. The first four teams have already

gotten under way in the Alabama-Georgia region, in Iowa, in Arizona and Utah, and in the Salinas Valley of California.

In just the first week after the Oberlin conference, socialist workers in Morgantown, West Virginia, sold 10 new subscriptions to the *Militant* — one-tenth of the goal they had set for themselves for the entire drive. They reported that the pamphlet on the meatpackers' struggle proved particularly useful in opening up discussions with coworkers.

Subscription campaigners in Philadelphia sold a similar proportion of their goal within the first week as well, 21 new subscriptions out of a target of 175. Several were subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, sold in Philadelphia's Puerto Rican community.

Members of the California subscription team visited striking workers at the Watsonville cannery plant, who have been out on strike for the past year. They sold 30 subscriptions to the strikers, the bulk of them for *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The Arizona team won 17 new readers at the University of Arizona. Team members also helped recruit two new members to the Young Socialist Alliance.

Among other places, the Alabama-Georgia team visited Barnesville, Georgia, where a three-day school boycott had just ended. It was led by the local chapter of the NAACP to protest the school system's racist hiring practices and treatment of Black students. The president of the NAACP chapter was among those who bought a *Militant* subscription.

In Newark, New Jersey, one *Militant* supporter sold five subscriptions to coworkers at the post office there. Several others were sold at an African liberation solidarity demonstration.

Activists in St. Louis sold more than 20 subscriptions in the first week, while those in Houston sold 12, including two at a "Punks for Peace" concert.

The campaign for 10,000 new readers has clearly gotten off to a good start.



Strike in Watsonville, California. Strikers bought 30 subscriptions from sales team.

Rally hits antiabortion terrorism

BY LORRAINE STARSKY

CINCINNATI — Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), was given a standing ovation by nearly 500 supporters of safe, legal abortion when she spoke at an abortion rights rally here on August 3. While she was speaking, about 40 antiabortionists picketed the auditorium.

The rally was organized in response to months of escalating terror by right-wing forces against abortion clinics and women seeking their services. Two clinics in Cincinnati were firebombed last year. Weekly protests by gangs of screaming antiabortionists have forced one of these clinics, plus a third one, to discontinue Saturday services.

Planned Parenthood's Margaret Sanger Clinic was one of those firebombed, but it has continued operating out of temporary facilities. It is now the only clinic in Cincinnati offering Saturday abortion services.

For this reason, it has become the focus of attention for the antiabortionists. Every Saturday morning dozens of them,

screaming antiwoman insults, attempt to block access to the clinic. A week before the rally, several shots were fired from a car passing the clinic.

At a news conference before the rally, Smeal called for U.S. marshals to be used to escort women into abortion clinics under siege by right-wing demonstrators. She drew a parallel with the use of marshals to enforce the Supreme Court decision to desegregate schools by escorting Black children past racist mobs.

Clyde Cumming, 1920-86

Clyde Cumming, a longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party, died on August 26.

She joined the SWP in Philadelphia in 1946, while in her mid-20s. For the past 20 years she was a member of the San Francisco branch, where she was active until she became ill with cancer.

An obituary will appear in a coming issue of the *Militant*.

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The Militant

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Why post office workers 'want to scream'

Oklahoma shooting reflects intense pressures of speed-up, harassment

BY ERNEST HARSCH

A day after two supervisors threatened to fire him, Patrick Sherrill returned to his job at the Edmond, Oklahoma, post office and opened fire. One of the two supervisors was among the first victims. Sherrill shot and killed 13 other postal employees as well, before turning the gun on himself.

As the sensationalistic coverage in the big-business news media portrayed it, this was just another in a series of seemingly meaningless mass murders, the work of a demented individual who exploded for no apparent reason.

But for postal workers around the country, the tragedy that took place in Edmond on August 20 was not that inexplicable.

"Given the working conditions in the post offices, it could have happened anywhere," an officer of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) in Rockville, Maryland, told the *Militant*.

"You're pushed, harassed, intimidated, yelled at, driven — anyone could explode," he said. "The pressures get so intense that you want to scream, or kill someone."

Betty Tsang, vice-president of the NALC branch in Miami, agreed. "I think the first response of all the workers down here is: We're surprised it hasn't happened here yet," Tsang said in a telephone interview.

Through speed-up and increased harassment of workers, postal supervisors "can drive people crazy," commented Bill Rayson, a union activist at the Opa Locka, Florida, post office.

Management 'goons'

In the months preceding the shooting, the letter carriers' union in the Oklahoma City area, which includes Edmond, reported a step-up in management intimidation and harassment of workers. "They can get a little pushy," a union steward at the Edmond post office said of the supervisors there.

A report from Oklahoma City in the May *Postal Record*, the NALC's national monthly, revealed that workers in the area "were recently harassed, intimidated and generally abused by a pair of management goons."

Similar experiences are common throughout the postal system. The unionists interviewed by the *Militant* described various kinds of harassment of workers:

• Disciplining for even the most minor infractions. According to Tsang, this in-

cludes "taking too long in the rest room, being absent three times within a 90-day period, or tapping your feet at a safety meeting."

- The firing of workers who are injured or become ill. One employee at the Opa Locka facility, who developed cancer, was fired before he could file for disability benefits. Probationary employees are likely to be dismissed if they are injured on the job, on the grounds that they are not "safe employees."

- Spot surveillance of letter carriers, both in the sorting rooms and on the mail routes.

- Racist and sexist abuse of Black and female employees by management personnel. A NALC branch in San Francisco has formally complained about the disproportionate firing of nonwhite workers there.

- Increased speed-up. Employees are given more work than can possibly be done in the time allowed. When they then take longer to finish it, they are disciplined for taking "unauthorized overtime" or threatened with firing.

- The dispatching of part-time postmasters to different post offices for 90-day stints. According to the NALC officer in Rockville, these postmasters "violate every part of the contract. They try to squeeze every last drop of sweat from the body."

Reagan's green light

The Rockville unionist linked this increased speed-up drive to the government's overall antilabor stance. "The Reagan ad-



Mail sorting center. Pace of work stepped up in recent years.

ministration has given a green light to any boss to do whatever they have to do to get productivity up," he said.

A convention of postmasters, held in San Antonio, Texas, just as the shooting in Edmond took place, was marked by calls for even greater management controls over postal workers.

Hugh Bates, president of the National Association of Postmasters, charged that the postal system was "having problems all over" with employees. He cited several

shootings of postal supervisors by workers in Alabama and Georgia in recent years. The answer, he claimed, was greater management powers of dismissal and surveillance, including the installation of metal detectors in post offices.

"I think this is asking for more problems," Tsang responded. "They abuse authority to the extent that they almost invite physical violence."

"They have to realize that people need to be treated like people."

Support builds for Oct. 25 protests

BY LISA AHLBERG

In response to Washington's escalating mercenary war against Nicaragua, antiwar activists around the country are joining together to build the Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice on October 25.

A coalition of dozens of organizations issued the call for the October 25 actions, which reads, "From the abolitionist movement that eliminated slavery, to the antiwar movement that helped end the war in Vietnam, public action has made the difference."

Nationally coordinated, regional actions are planned in a number of cities, demanding an end to the war on Nicaragua, the breaking of all U.S. ties with the apartheid regime in South Africa, abolition of nuclear weapons, and creation of jobs by cutting the military budget. These actions will help reach hundreds of thousands of people with the truth about the war and the necessity for building a broad-based movement against it.

1,000 rally on August 4

Plans for a Mid-Atlantic action in Washington, D.C., are moving ahead. Opponents of the U.S. intervention in Nicaragua in that region got a big boost from an August 4 rally of 1,000 at the U.S. Capitol. The protesters were demanding that the Senate reject the \$100-million *contra* aid package already approved by the House. The rally was part of a series of protests called the "People's Filibuster" held the first week of August.

Participants in the protest enthusiastically received the October 25 demonstration leaflets headlined, "Say no to the U.S. war on Nicaragua."

An August 25 regional coalition meeting in Washington heard reports from new local groups that have been formed in Morgantown, West Virginia, and the Tidewater region of Virginia. The participants discussed plans to draw unionists, anti-apartheid activists, students, and church groups into the action.

The coalition is also helping to build the September 28 national march in Washington, D.C., in support of the sanctuary movement and in solidarity with the peoples of Central America. The sanctuary movement attempts to organize support, including housing and legal aid, for refugees from dictatorial regimes.

A newsletter published by the organizers

of the sanctuary march, which is supported by dozens of religious organizations, explains, "Given the increasing levels of harassment of [antiwar and sanctuary] groups — the most outrageous of which have been the attacks against sanctuary workers, and Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees in sanctuary — plus the recent House and Senate votes to wage war on Nicaragua in direct opposition to the will of the American people, we feel that this is a critical time to gather."

Rev. Phil Wheaton, an organizer of the sanctuary march, told the *Militant* that religious groups and opponents of Washington's war in Nicaragua "are coming to a common understanding that our commitment is to the victims [of the war] and not to those elements of U.S. society who are intent on advancing the empire."

Los Angeles protest

In Los Angeles, an action on November 1 has been called by more than 35 organizations. The central demand of the demonstration will be, "U.S. out of Central America."

The coalition also voted to endorse the local October 11 anti-apartheid march, which is one of many regional protests

called in June by the West Coast Conference on Southern Africa. The anti-apartheid march is being organized by the local Free South Africa Movement as well as a broad list of sponsors.

The coalition building the November 1 action decided to actively participate in the October 11 protest and send representatives to the meetings organizing it. They also plan to organize a large Central American contingent in the anti-apartheid protest, which will march under the banner, "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua."

In other parts of the country, regional actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice are taking place too. An October 25 action is planned for New York City and November 1 actions for Boston and Seattle.

Judy Freiwirth from the National Mobilization for Survival reports that meetings are taking place to discuss calling actions in Texas, Miami, Atlanta, Chicago, Minneapolis, and New Haven. New leaflets are available to help build the actions.

For further information on actions in your area and to order leaflets contact: Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice, c/o 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003, (212) 533-0008.

Chrysler workers reject contract

BY ANDREW PULLEY

DETROIT — By a vote of 527 to 218, auto workers at Chrysler Trenton Engine plant rejected company takeback demands. The proposed contract, voted down on August 17, would have imposed changes in job classifications, eliminating hundreds of jobs.

The rejected six-year contract would have gutted the seniority system and restricted workers' ability to move into better jobs. Production would have been organized by teams of 15 to 20 workers with each team member expected to know and perform each other's jobs.

Chrysler and the United Auto Workers International leadership told Local 372 to accept the contract or 1,500 of 2,400 workers at the plant would lose their jobs. Without the agreement, the company refuses to invest \$280 million needed to renovate the plant.

Hoping to make its ultimatum more acceptable, Chrysler offered to increase

wages by 50 cents an hour.

Surprised and angered by the rejection, especially in light of the ratification of a similar contract by workers at two other Chrysler plants, Plant Manager Robert Garlo called the rejection "the most disappointing event in the history of our plant."

Head of the UAW Chrysler division, Vice-president Marc Stepp, told the *Detroit Free Press* he was through "worrying about people who don't want to work."

The priority now, Stepp said, is to keep the jobs in the country. That can only happen, he contended, if workers cooperate in trying to make U.S. auto plants more competitive.

With that goal in mind, company and UAW tops circulated a petition among the workers securing 1,300 signatures for a second vote on the same contract.

Andrew Pulley is a member of UAW Local 5960 at the General Motors Lake Orion Plant.

Ruling against FBI scores victory

Continued from front page

With the aid of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which was established in 1973 to raise funds and help publicize the case, broad support was mobilized from prominent individuals in the labor movement, among Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican activists, and from many other defenders of democratic rights. Members of other socialist groups such as the Communist Party and the Democratic Socialists of America also rallied to the united-front effort to deal a blow for political rights. Civil liberties organizations such as the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the Bill of Rights Foundation likewise lent their support.

With this support, it was possible to counter, and ultimately defeat, the government's obstruction tactics.

The central purpose — and accomplishment — of the suit has been as a weapon to force out the truth about the covert operations of the government's repressive apparatus. Being armed with these truths is essential to the mobilization of the people of the United States to defend democratic rights against the increasing threats to those rights that come from the government itself.

Through the lawsuit, literally hundreds of thousands of pages of secret FBI files were brought to light. The lessons they contain have since become known to millions of people. These documents became one of the chief sources of information about the FBI's Cointelpro operations, the extent and character of its informer network, and its "black-bag jobs," burglaries to plant bugs and steal papers.

Through the lawsuit, the existence of a secret government program — in effect as of 1981 — to deport "subversives" first became public knowledge. The fact that the Immigration and Naturalization Service maintains a list of "proscribed" organizations also came to light. Membership, support, or even financial contributions to organizations on this blacklist can lead to deportation or denial of visas, according to INS policy.

Totalitarian threat

The truth that emerged from years of pretrial proceedings, and at the trial itself, was not that of an FBI run amok, "out of control" as some liberals argued in support of their approach of seeking to reform the FBI to end what they called its "excesses." Rather, what came to light was the existence of a true conspiracy to subvert the Bill of Rights. The chief actors in this plot include presidents from at least Franklin Roosevelt on, a long list of attorney generals, and other top officials throughout the government.

The SWP and YSA suit has helped to shine the spotlight on one of the essential facts that underlies today's threat to democratic rights: the extent to which the rule of law, as guaranteed by the Constitution, has been replaced by the arbitrary rule of an expanding executive power in the name of "national security." The fact that this arbitrary power is wielded with the knowledge of the Congress and courts doesn't make it any less a deadly threat to democratic rights.

Forcing this totalitarian tumor into public view, and laying bare its malignant na-



Malcolm X (right) and Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers presidential candidate in 1964. FBI sought to provoke divisions between Malcolm's supporters and socialists.

ture, has been the central accomplishment of the battle in support of this lawsuit.

Opposing World War II

As Judge Griesa records in his opinion, the FBI's operations against the SWP began in the years leading up to the Second World War. The boss class was preparing for war, and was gearing up for the restrictions on democratic rights that the war would make necessary. As the capitalists and their government got ready for war abroad, they also prepared for an offensive against workers and farmers at home. Their aim was to silence all opponents of the drive toward war, and make working people accept the necessity for sacrifices. All struggles for improvements in wages and working conditions, or for an end to racial discrimination and segregation, had to be subordinated to the needs of the imperialist war.

The FBI was sent into action against "subversives." In 1940, the FBI instructed its field offices to plant informers in every plant engaged in war production. By 1942, some 23,000 stool pigeons were reporting on labor activities in 4,000 factories and mills nationwide.

Unionists saw the results immediately. In the Teamsters union in Minnesota and throughout the central states region, union militants began to be framed up, arrested, and convicted. In each case, prosecutors relied on testimony from informers and other provocateurs.

This antilabor offensive culminated in the 1941 trial in Minneapolis in which 18 leaders of the Teamsters union and of the SWP were convicted and sentenced to prison for advocating ideas made illegal by the recently enacted Smith Act. Those ideas, it should be noted, are identical to the ones that Judge Griesa ruled are protected by the First Amendment.

Judge Griesa, in his opinion, summarizes the findings of the FBI's St. Paul office, which "was investigating the SWP activities in the labor movement in that area."

"According to this study," Judge Griesa notes, "the SWP shared the well-known Marxist goals of overthrow of the capitalist state and the transfer of all or most economic activity to a 'workers government.'

According to the study, the SWP stood for 'militant class struggle' and proposed to carry on part of this class struggle within the labor union movement. The specific program of the SWP was said to involve fomenting strikes and other forms of work stoppages as well as the spreading of Marxist philosophy.

"It was said that, beyond the trade union program, the SWP was committed to taking leadership in all kinds of 'progressive struggles,' and was further committed to opposing United States involvement in World War II."

Making allowances for FBI terminology, the description is a fair summary of much of what the SWP stood for then, and now: for a class struggle policy in the unions, for participation in every progressive struggle, for a fight against imperialist war, for the spread of Marxist ideas, and for bringing to power a government of the working people.

It was on the basis of these political positions and activities that the FBI was unleashed against the SWP and many others.

At the trial in 1981, one of the chief government witnesses was Robert Keuch, deputy assistant attorney general, the third-ranking official in the Justice Department. According to Keuch, President Roosevelt had the "inherent power" under the Constitution to authorize the FBI to go after "subversives."

When asked by SWP attorney Margaret Winter to explain what was meant by the term "subversives," Keuch glibly replied that this referred, above all, to those "who were trying to influence public opinion to keep the United States out of war, to keep us neutral."

Fair warning to opponents of Washington's drive toward deepening war against Nicaragua!

When asked why the government didn't simply arrest and prosecute those who were violating laws, Keuch replied, "Well, of course there can be many actions taken to attempt to influence the policies of the United States, its actions, et cetera, that do not necessarily involve or constitute a violation of law. It could be an attempt, for example, to do away with the [document] classification program. There could be agitation to do away with security programs totally. An intent to weaken the defenses of the United States...."

In other words, opinions and actions that are not illegal, but are nonetheless "wrong," can make you the target of the political police. You will be considered not a criminal suspect, but the target of an "intelligence" investigation.

This purely totalitarian concept was presented not by some overheated FBI agent, but by a top official of the Justice Department, and the administration's chief policy spokesperson at the trial.

In his opinion, Judge Griesa rejects the claim that the executive branch of the government has the right to arbitrarily defy the Bill of Rights in carrying out "intelligence" investigations in the name of "national security." A decision "to conduct an intelligence operation by methods which violate the Constitution and probably several federal statutes" is not within the "discretion" of the government, Griesa wrote.

When the lawsuit was first filed, the FBI denied it had carried out any break-ins against the SWP or YSA. This was a lie. As Griesa sums it up: "Following the filing of the original complaint, the FBI and certain persons in the Justice Department took elaborate steps to avoid disclosing to plaintiffs the actual facts about the burglaries." However, the facts came to light and "this scheme was exposed," Griesa notes.

Upholding Fourth Amendment

The puncturing of this cover-up operation led to a deeper question, which was posed at the trial. The Justice Department argued that the more than 200 "black-bag jobs" documented in files obtained by the socialists were not violations of the Fourth Amendment, and therefore perfectly lawful. The Fourth Amendment, government officials argued, simply does not apply to "intelligence investigations" against supposed subversive organizations.

During the trial, Judge Griesa was visibly startled by the directness with which this position was advanced by government representatives. He interrupted the testimony of Robert Keuch to ask the following question:

"You are saying that for intelligence investigations the FBI would install the microphones for national security purposes even if a trespass was involved?"

"Yes, sir," replied Mr. Keuch.

In his ruling, Griesa states unambiguously that burglaries by the FBI, whether to plant microphones or steal documents, "were obvious violations of the Fourth Amendment. The FBI knew this full well. There was no statutory or regulatory authorization for such operations."

Cointelpro ruling

The judge's opinion includes a catalog of the kind of disruption operations the files show were carried out not just against the SWP and YSA, but against the Communist Party, Students for a Democratic Society, Black groups, antiwar coalitions, women's liberation groups, and others.

For example, Griesa records the following:

- In 1963 the FBI conspired with the welfare department in Chicago to arrange for the arrest of Clifton DeBerry, a national leader of the SWP and a prominent activist in the Black liberation movement, on charges of failing to make child support payments. DeBerry was arrested at the Militant Labor Forum just before beginning a scheduled speech.

In 1964, when DeBerry was running for president of the United States on the SWP ticket, the FBI supplied "derogatory material regarding DeBerry's marital status to 'friendly' newspaper contacts. Since DeBerry was a Black candidate for president, the FBI thought that he was potentially influential in allying the SWP with the civil rights movement. In May 1964 the New York FBI office made an anonymous mailing to various persons, including Daniel Watts and Harold Cruse, editors of a publication called *Liberator*. The anonymous mailing suggested that the SWP was trying to manipulate the civil rights movement for its own benefit."

- "In 1965 the FBI's New York office learned that the SWP was trying to form an alliance with the followers of the recently assassinated Malcolm X. The FBI instructed some of its SWP informants to antagonize these followers."

- The FBI sought to disrupt a 1969 demonstration in New York against the Vietnam war. Since the demonstration "was to involve both civilians and military personnel, the sponsors of the parade regarded it as particularly important to keep the parade peaceful, so as not to draw the military personnel into trouble with the law. Just before the parade the FBI's New York office distributed an anonymous leaflet entitled 'Notes from the Sand Castle' (the latter term being slang for Columbia University), accusing the 'SWP-YSA-SCMC coalition' of cowardice in not being willing to fight the 'pigs' (police) and to accumulate 'battle wounds.'"

The judge finds, "There can be no doubt that these disruption operations were patently unconstitutional and violated the SWP's First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly. Moreover, there was

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The suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the U.S. government and its political police agencies has resulted in a civil liberties victory. The government's decades-long campaign of spying on and attempted disruption of the YSA and SWP have been ruled unconstitutional.

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no statutory or regulatory authority for the FBI to disrupt the SWP's lawful political activities."

Informers illegal

Perhaps the most far-reaching of all of the judge's rulings is the holding that the SWP and YSA have a right to privacy, guaranteed by the Constitution, that includes the right not to be infiltrated or spied on by informers. This ruling breaks substantially new constitutional ground and will be utilized by other organizations that face similar invasions of privacy by government finks. Griesa's ruling on this issue is the first of its kind by any federal judge.

The work of the informers who posed as members of the SWP or YSA, Griesa concludes, "had the effect of admitting the FBI covertly into the midst of the most private discussions. The member informants were instructed to gain the confidence of key persons in the SWP organization so that the informants could be privy to plans and also to any problems that might be developing. The informants, both member and non-member, obtained information not only about organizational subjects but also about purely personal matters."

In one instance, among many cited in the opinion, the FBI recruited or planted an informer at a hospital where some SWP members and their relatives were patients. "This informant supplied the FBI with dozens of hospital records. The FBI files clearly indicate recognition on the part of the FBI that the informant was violating his duty to the hospital and that the procurement of these records by the FBI was a flagrant violation of privacy of the patients."

Moreover, Griesa stresses, the informers whose activities were documented in the files were not merely passive collectors of information. They were *all* active disrupters of the organization. "The evidence shows that, when the occasion permitted, the FBI encouraged the member informants to frustrate the growth of the organizations."

The activities of FBI provocateurs, handsomely paid by the FBI for their efforts, is an essential component of the FBI's efforts to disrupt the labor movement, organizations fighting against racial oppression, and others the ruling families in this country consider a threat to their interests.

In his ruling, Griesa affirms in strong language that an essential part of the First Amendment's freedom of association is the right of organizations to privacy. He cites a landmark Supreme Court case won by the NAACP at the beginning of the civil rights movement, which held that "privacy in group associations may in many circumstances be indispensable to preservation of freedom of association, particularly where a group espouses dissident beliefs."

The use of FBI informers against the SWP and YSA, Griesa states, "clearly constituted an invasion of privacy."

Views on communism

Griesa is a political conservative who was appointed judge by President Richard Nixon. He leaves no doubt in his ruling that he considers communism to be a totalitarian menace. He expresses his view that "the fundamental beliefs and policies of Lenin and Trotsky denied democracy and advocated totalitarian rule imposed by military force and terror [in Russia]." What's worse, from the judge's standpoint, is the fact that "since that time other communist governments have come to power, and have followed the grim pattern of abrogating freedom and democratic processes...."

Moreover, Griesa adds, to his way of thinking "the devotion to ultimate revolution does mean that the SWP has an ideology which is basically antithetical to the political system and democratic processes of this country."

Nonetheless, he declares, the SWP does not even approach "the ability to seize power" in the United States. "Thus the question of what kind of society . . . the SWP wishes to create is currently one of belief not of practice." FBI charges that the SWP is involved in terrorist or other actions that would be violations of the law are disproved by the evidence from the FBI's



Militant/Tom Jaax

Cops brutalize worker during meatpackers' strike in Austin, Minnesota. FBI documents unearthed in socialist lawsuit show long record of government also using secret police against labor movement.

own files, he stresses.

"As to whether the SWP practices violence, the evidence in this action compels a finding that it does not. The FBI conducted an intensive investigation of the SWP for over 30 years. There was not one single prosecution of any member of the SWP or YSA for any terrorist or revolutionary act of any kind. No evidence was introduced at the trial that any SWP or YSA member ever carried on any such activities. . . .

The decision includes a lengthy discussion of the charges by the FBI that the SWP's participation in the Fourth International justifies the operations carried out by the government. The Fourth International is a worldwide organization of revolutionary Marxist organizations that was established in 1938 to continue the fight for communist policies following the degeneration of the Communist (Third) International after Lenin's death in 1924 and the rise of the privileged bureaucracy headed by Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union.

Griesa accepts as good coin many of the government's accusations and slanders against Fourth International groups in other countries, who are smeared as violence-prone and terrorists. For example, Griesa writes, "It appears that the French section of the Fourth International, the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI), and a closely allied youth group, Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire, were prominent

in the violent student riots in France in 1968."

Despite this and other similar false accounts, Griesa rejects the argument that the SWP and YSA participation in the Fourth International justifies government spying and disruption.

Griesa notes that the SWP played a major role in the founding of the Fourth International in 1938. In 1940 Congress passed the Voorhis Act, which required U.S. groups belonging to international organizations such as the Fourth International to register with the government. Such registration would require turning over to the government the names and addresses of every member and financial contributor to the SWP. At a special convention in December 1940 the SWP withdrew from membership in the Fourth International and has not been a member since. However, the SWP has continued to actively participate in the Fourth International as its sympathizing section in the United States.

Griesa notes, "In order to avoid registration under the Voorhis Act, the SWP withdrew as a formal member of the Fourth International. However, the SWP continued to participate in Fourth International activities as a 'consultative member' or 'sympathizing section.' The evidence shows that this change made almost no practical difference. The SWP remained an impor-

tant factor and a very active participant in the Fourth International. *It should be noted that the United States Government has been fully aware of this and has taken no steps to enforce the Voorhis Act against the SWP.*" (Emphasis added.)

Injunction rejected

Despite ruling in the SWP and YSA's favor on many of the fundamental constitutional issues raised, Griesa refused the demand for an injunction against the FBI or other government defendants. He also rejected the demand of the SWP and YSA that certain laws, such as the Voorhis Act, be ruled unconstitutional.

In 1976 the attorney general, in a highly publicized move, announced he was directing the FBI to terminate its investigation of the SWP and YSA.

Griesa argues that the fact that the government now states it has stopped all of the actions that the SWP and YSA sued to halt means that no injunction is necessary.

"There is no evidence that the FBI has resumed or is about to resume, the electronic surveillance, the surreptitious entries, or the disruption tactics against the SWP or its members. There is no evidence that any investigation of plaintiffs is now taking place or is planned," the judge declares.

By choosing to accept the word of the FBI and other police agencies about their current secret activities or plans for the future, Griesa is accepting at face value the word of those who the record in this case itself proves — and the judge has been compelled to recognize — are professional liars and cover-up artists.

Nonetheless, the denial of an injunction on the narrow grounds that there is no evidence of any ongoing spying or harassment by the political police does not negate the victory on the fundamental constitutional issues at the heart of the case.

Any evidence of government harassment, spying, or disruption of the SWP and YSA or their members — whether through the use of informers or any other methods — will be evidence of a violation of the court ruling and grounds for renewing the demand for a court injunction.

The decision is a victory for working people and a powerful weapon that can be used by all those who are prepared to fight to defend the Bill of Rights.

Decision could affect Marroquín case

BY LARRY SEIGLE

The ruling in federal district court on the SWP and YSA suit against government harassment brings a related fight for political rights to center stage.

For nearly 10 years the U.S. government has been trying to deport Héctor Marroquín, a member of the Socialist Workers Party. So far it has not succeeded, thanks to the mobilization of broad public support for his fight.

Marroquín is an undocumented Mexican worker who fled to this country in 1974 when Mexican cops tried to frame him up for his political activity. The Immigration and Naturalization Service arrested Marroquín in 1977 and moved to deport him on the grounds that he had entered the country illegally. The actual reason, however, was Marroquín's activity as a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the SWP — activities that Judge Griesa has ruled are fully protected by the First Amendment.

The immigration cops have a different view, however. When Marroquín applied for political asylum, the INS prosecutor told the INS judge at his deportation hearing that "Marroquín has admitted from his own mouth that he is a Marxist. The U.S. does not grant asylum to Marxists."

The INS eventually ruled that Marroquín was not eligible for asylum because he had not proved his contention that he faced political repression in Mexico. The INS claimed to ignore the question of his political affiliation. But that remains at the heart of the case.

In 1984 the Supreme Court refused to hear Marroquín's appeal for asylum. By that time, Marroquín, who has been living in this country since 1974, had married a U.S. citizen. He had applied for a green

card, or permanent resident status, on that basis. Marroquín meets all of the government's requirements for permanent residency — all, that is, except one. He is a Marxist.

Marroquín applied for his green card in 1983 — more than three years ago. The government has been sitting on his application ever since — a delay undoubtedly resulting from a high-level decision to hold up any action on any case involving the SWP until Judge Griesa's ruling.

Griesa, however, refused to rule one way or another on the legality of the INS policy of singling out socialists for deportation and denial of visas. He had earlier refused to allow Marroquín's fight against deportation to become part of the lawsuit.

Griesa justifies his ruling by claiming, "There is no indication of any present or contemplated adverse action by the INS against any SWP member."

But this is a fiction.

Thirty years ago, in 1956, the INS placed the SWP on its secret list of "proscribed" organizations. The result was to make SWP members and supporters subject to deportation and denial of immigrant visas. Harassment against SWP members and supporters by the INS was widespread, but when the government tried to deport a former SWP member who took the case to court it couldn't persuade the judge that SWP membership should be grounds for deportation.

In 1966, the INS revised its blacklist, downgrading the SWP from the list of "proscribed" organizations, to a list of organizations whose members and supporters should "be questioned closely to determine [their] personal attachment to the prin-

iples of the Constitution and . . . disposition to the good order and happiness of the United States."

(The "happiness of the United States" is a notion that INS officials had particular difficulty defining at the trial in Judge Griesa's courtroom. Whatever it may mean, they said, Marxists don't seem to contribute much to it.)

In a surprise move, during the trial in 1981, the INS announced that it was once again reviewing the case against the SWP to determine if the party should be "proscribed" again. But after five years of "review," no such decision has been made.

Griesa writes in his opinion, "For some reason, the INS decided during the time the trial was taking place to engage in a reconsideration of [whether the SWP should be on the "proscribed" blacklist.] However, no action has been taken, and the SWP has not been restored to the list of proscribed organizations. The court has no reason to believe that the INS is furtively waiting for the decision in this case before announcing a restoration of the SWP's proscription."

Furtive or not, the INS has been waiting for Griesa's decision before ruling on Marroquín's case. It is faced with a dilemma: if it grants him a green card, it must concede that SWP members have the right to become permanent residents.

If it denies him a green card on the basis of his political views — the only possible grounds — it will be in for the continuation of a hell of a fight.

The Political Rights Defense Fund will continue to raise funds and organize public support for Marroquín's legal defense. Contributions and resolutions of support should be sent to: PRDF, P.O. Box 649, New York, N.Y. 10003.

South African unionists fight repression

The following statement is taken from the first issue, dated August, of the Johannesburg monthly *COSATU*, the newspaper of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Formed in late 1985, *COSATU* is the largest union federation in South Africa, with more than half a million members. It has been in the forefront of the struggle for workers' rights and against the apartheid system.

With the latest [state of] emergency the government has attacked workers and worker organizations.

Thousands of *COSATU* workers have been detained. Hundreds of our leaders are in detention or in hiding. Our offices are being constantly raided. Some have been closed down completely. Individuals and organizations are being intimidated by "anonymous" groups. In some areas our statements and T-shirts are banned.

COSATU has received many bomb threats. The offices of some of our affiliates have been bombed. Our members and meetings are being constantly harassed, threatened, and intimidated.

Other organizations supported by workers and youth have come under similar attack. In fact any organization struggling for democracy is a possible target.

Why?

We are legal trade unions. Our activities are open. Our demands are the demands of our members.

But the government is trying to make us

illegal. The government is trying to drive us away. The government is trying to silence the voice of workers.

The government is trying because it cannot stand to see us organize ourselves. It cannot stand to see us fight for our rights. It cannot stand to hear us say what we feel.

Workers defend

Workers did not accept the situation without protest. On June 16 — four days into the emergency — over one and a half million workers stayed away. This was the biggest national strike action in over 25 years.

At the same time thousands and thousands of CCAWUSA [Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa] workers in the shops came out on strike. They were protesting against the detention of CCAWUSA leaders.

Then thousands and thousands of mine workers in NUM [National Union of Mineworkers] went on strikes, go-slows, and sit-ins. They demanded the release of NUM leaders.

In the meantime workers in food, metal, paper, chemical, car, and transport industries went on strike against the repression. In Springs, for example, there was a total two-hour stoppage to protest the detention of shop stewards from the KwaThema local.

And on July 14 tens of thousands of *COSATU* workers took action throughout the country. With one voice workers demanded:



COSATU

COSATU rally held despite state of emergency

- Release our leaders and all detainees.
- Stop the harassment of our unions.
- End repression and move to democracy.

But still the government has not listened. It has not listened to the cry of millions of people in South Africa. It has not listened to the cry of the whole world.

So where to?

The way ahead will be difficult. *COSATU* and the people's organizations are under ongoing attack.

In *COSATU* we must defend ourselves. We must defend what we have won through our long struggle. And we must take our struggle forward. We must organize, unite, consolidate, and defend.

Organize!

We must strengthen organization at every level. Our shop steward locals especially — they are the rock on which *COSATU* stands. We must get delegates from the unemployed, the young workers, and unorganized factories to come to our locals. We must build links with workers in

other unions and get them to send shop stewards to our *COSATU* locals. We must organize the unorganized.

Unite!

We must unite. We must unite the whole working class. We must unite every worker — no matter what union, what color, what job, what part of the country. *COSATU* is the home of the working class. Every worker belongs with us. Divisions amongst us must be sorted out now. Discipline those who try and divide us.

Defend!

We must defend ourselves. In the factories and in the townships. We must organize defense to defend our leaders. We must organize defense to defend our offices. We must organize defense to defend our struggle. We must help build and strengthen the organization of people's power — the street committees defense organization, SRCs [Students Representative Councils] — with the methods of workers' democracy.

Nuclear waste plan sparks storm of protest

BY JOHN OLMSTED

PORLAND, Ore. — For more than 25 years, nuclear power plants have been operating with no place to store their radioactive wastes. The Department of Energy recently announced three sites as final candidates for the first national nuclear waste dump.

The choice of the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in southeastern Washington as one of the three has sparked a storm of protest throughout the Northwest.

Hanford is the home of the only U.S. nuclear reactor of the same design as the ill-fated Chernobyl plant in the Soviet Union. It has no containment vessel and a graphite core. It uses fuel that is more dangerous than that used at Chernobyl. Twenty-three years old, it is an antique by industry standards.

This reactor produces plutonium for nuclear weapons. It was set up during World War II and provided the fuel for the bombs dropped on Nagasaki, Japan, in August 1945.

The outrage is particularly strong in Portland, which lies 250 miles downstream from Hanford on the Columbia River. The plan is to bury the nation's nuclear waste in basalt rock four miles from the banks of the Columbia. Two million people live downstream from that site. In the early '60s, so much radioactive waste was dumped into the Columbia River it became the most radioactive river in the hemisphere.

The Department of Energy admits it does not know how long it would take the waste to seep through the rock into the Columbia. It has requested another billion dollars to study the matter.

The site is already a nuclear cesspool, with 53 million gallons of radioactive wastes sitting in ditches, ponds, and tanks. Already 500,000 gallons have seeped out.

The energy department hopes that political support for the site as a waste dump will be generated from nearby cities. The step-up in nuclear weapons production means that the Hanford plant will be called upon to produce more plutonium.

Richland, Washington, for example, is almost totally dependent on Hanford for 13,000 relatively high-paying jobs. One of the local high schools fields athletic teams called the Richland "Bombers" with an emblem of a mushroom cloud.

Despite the pronuclear pressure, some residents are speaking out against the site. Farmers who live downwind from the plant and are suffering higher rates of cancer are the most vocal.

Teach-ins, pickets, and demonstrations are planned for the fall in both Oregon and Washington.

More than 800 people turned out for the first energy hearing on the site. During seven hours of testimony only one person spoke in favor of the plan.

One person proposed that an "option for a permanent deep repository might be between the ears of our leaders and legislators who claim Hanford is a desirable storage site. For between those ears and only there must be a substance which is harder and infinitely less permeable than mere granite."

Two Ghanaian counterrevolutionaries, caught red-handed seeking to purchase weapons for the overthrow of the government of Ghana, "cannot in any sense be considered criminals," U.S. federal Judge H. Lee Sarokin claimed July 14.

Although both Ghanaians, Kwasi Baidoo and Kwame Boateng, had been found guilty by a Newark, New Jersey, jury of conspiring to illegally buy the arms,

Sarokin refused to sentence them to prison terms. He instead gave them three years' probation.

Both Baidoo and Boateng are members of the United Front for the Liberation of Ghana, a rightist group seeking to oust the government of that West African country.

Ever since the government of Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings came to power in Ghana in December 1981, Washington has given encouragement and support to various rightist opposition currents.

Baidoo and Boateng, who are residents of the United States, were arrested in December 1985 at Newark International Airport after meeting with a U.S. customs agent posing as an arms merchant. Arrested with them was Joseph Mensah, a former Ghanaian finance minister and currently head of the London-based Ghana Democratic Movement, another rightist exile grouping.

The three had sought to purchase \$200,000 worth of automatic rifles, machine guns, grenade launchers, anti-aircraft guns, and other equipment — enough to arm a force of 100 men.

During the trial, Mensah called several U.S. State Department officials as character witnesses in his defense.

Although the jury found Baidoo and Boateng guilty, it could not reach a verdict on Mensah, and Judge Sarokin proclaimed a mistrial in his case.

Sarokin's political sympathies for the defendants were openly expressed. "They acted on what the court has to recognize as a noble purpose," Sarokin declared. He claimed that they sought "to lift the yoke of oppression from their people."

Just a few weeks earlier, however, a Brazilian court found eight U.S. citizens and one Argentinian guilty of involvement in a similar arms smuggling operation. Those arms, also destined for Ghanaian counterrevolutionaries, were seized aboard a ship in Brazilian waters.

The ship's Argentinian captain and one of the U.S. citizens were sentenced to five years in prison, while the remaining defendants drew four-year prison terms.

Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women



By Joseph Hansen & Evelyn Reed
with an introduction by
Mary-Alice Waters

How do the wealthy owners of the cosmetics industry play on women's insecurities to sell products and rake in profits?

How are the standards of beauty determined in capitalist society?

How has the growing participation of women in the labor force changed their view of themselves and their potential?

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Seven years later, fight still on against disruption suit

Frame-up of SWP hits democratic rights

BY WILL REISSNER

Can a federal court order a political organization to accept someone as a member, even when that person has demonstrated fundamental hostility to the organization's goals?

Can a federal court decide who may and who may not serve as elected officers of a political organization?

Can a federal court decide whether a party's present policies are in keeping with its historic goals?

These issues are being decided in a federal court in Los Angeles in a case that has dragged on for more than seven years.

The outcome of that case will have far-reaching implications for all political, civil rights, and trade union organizations.

In that court case, the Socialist Workers Party has been forced to defend itself against government intervention into the organization's internal affairs and life.

A suit against the SWP was filed in federal court in Los Angeles in July 1979 by Alan Gelfand. Gelfand is a lawyer for the county of Los Angeles who had been expelled from the party in January 1979 after he filed a legal brief in federal court charging that the SWP is a front for the FBI.

Gelfand is asking for a federal court order requiring the SWP to admit him as a member. He also wants the court to remove the SWP's national secretary and other officers from their elected posts.

In court, Gelfand admitted that his legal case against the SWP was conceived, organized, and financed in collaboration with the Workers League, a small sect based in Detroit.

Since 1975, the Workers League has centered the lion's share of its activities on a lavishly financed slander and disruption campaign against the SWP, charging that the party is controlled and dominated by U.S. government agents.

This campaign is part of its general campaign to disrupt the vanguard of the workers' movement. Most recently it has opened up its fire against the leadership of the meatpackers' struggle at the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. plant in Austin, Minnesota. There, workers in United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, who were on strike for nearly a year, had their local placed under trusteeship as a result of a court order. They have continued their struggle by establishing the North American Meat Packers Union (NAMPU), which is attempting to win a union recertification election. In its twice-weekly paper, the *Bulletin*, and at NAMPU activities, the WL has denounced the meatpackers' course and is waging an aggressive campaign against it.

Trial in March 1983

Gelfand's suit came to trial in March 1983. Three years later, the judge has still not ruled on the case.

Even if federal Judge Mariana Pfaelzer rules against Gelfand, simply by hearing the case she has already struck a blow against the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which guarantees freedom of assembly.

Pfaelzer has decided that the U.S. courts have the right to determine whether or not to reinsert Gelfand into the SWP and which members may be elected to leadership positions.

Moreover, by allowing the case to continue in court for more than seven years, Pfaelzer has aided and abetted Gelfand's harassment of the SWP.

She has armed Gelfand and his lawyers with court orders forcing SWP leaders to submit to hundreds of hours of pretrial questioning about their personal lives and histories, their families, and their views on politics and philosophy.

Pfaelzer's refusal to throw the case out of court has also tied up SWP resources and personnel and cost the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is handling the legal

side of the SWP's defense, large sums of money.

On four separate occasions before the trial, Judge Pfaelzer ruled against motions to throw Gelfand's suit out of court, despite her repeated acknowledgement each time that his case had no merit.

The first time — in December 1980 — Judge Pfaelzer told Gelfand's lawyer, "There isn't one shred of evidence whatsoever" to back up his case. Yet she allowed Gelfand to continue his suit. Again in July 1981, February 1982, and July 1982, she made similar statements but continued to deny the SWP's motion to dismiss the suit.

This is not the first blow that Judge Pfaelzer has struck against democratic rights and civil liberties.

While serving on the Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners from 1974 to 1978, Pfaelzer was directly and intimately involved in authorizing police spying and disruption operations against 37 political and religious groups, including the SWP.

Attorneys for the SWP filed a motion charging that Pfaelzer "is biased and prejudiced" against the party and its members based on her authorization of the police harassment and asked her to disqualify herself from hearing the case.

Pfaelzer refused to step down. As a result, when Gelfand called as star witnesses for his case two Los Angeles undercover cops who had been assigned to infiltrate the SWP, their testimony was heard by the very same person who had authorized their undercover infiltration in the first place.

Even if Gelfand were simply a disgruntled former member of the SWP acting as an individual, the federal government has no constitutional right to force the SWP (or any other political group) to accept into its ranks someone who is openly hostile to the organization's aims.

But the evidence shows that Gelfand is not acting as an individual. His entire behavior before, during, and since the trial has been designed to press forward the WL's disruption campaign against the SWP.

This operation was launched by the Workers Revolutionary Party, a British sect headed by Gerry Healy, in 1975, and was actively backed by its U.S. supporters in the WL. The WRP, once a revolutionary socialist organization, began a rapid degeneration after it repudiated the Cuban revolution and its leadership in the early 1960s. The WRP refused to recognize that a social revolution had occurred in Cuba — that the workers and peasants had overthrown the Fulgencio Batista dictatorship; expropriated the capitalist landlords, bankers, and factory owners; and established their own government.

From the early 1960s the WRP attempted to cover its break from Marxism by waging a venomous campaign against the SWP and the Fourth International.

This campaign took an insidious new turn in 1975 when the WRP and WL asserted that top leaders of the SWP were Soviet police agents. They later added to their slander campaign the charge that SWP leaders were FBI and CIA agents.

The WRP-WL presses rolled out article after article and pamphlet after pamphlet presenting "documents" and "evidence" to bolster their frame-up. But there was not one bit of truth to any of it. It was entirely a concoction of lies.

When they laid out their entire case in the courtroom, even Judge Pfaelzer had to concede that they had not presented her "with one single piece of evidence that these people are agents of the government."

A giant blow was dealt to the agent-baiting campaign when the WRP split last year, and a significant wing of the organization publicly repudiated the agent-baiting campaign. This wing, organized



Militant/Lou Howort

New York rally in March 1983, one of 50 across country to protest frame-up suit brought by Alan Gelfand against SWP.

around the weekly newspaper *Workers Press*, also condemned the Gelfand suit against the SWP. In a statement issued in January of this year, the WRP leaders who denounced the suit noted that it sets "an extremely damaging precedent in calling on the state to determine the membership of a working-class political organization."

This denunciation of the Healyite smear campaign sent the WL leaders wild. They immediately reaffirmed their support for the Gelfand suit and stepped up their attacks on the SWP.

Further ammunition

Gelfand's lawsuit is primarily designed to harass the SWP by keeping it tied up in court. It also aims to provide further ammunition for the WL's slander operation.

When David Epstein, an attorney for the SWP, summarized the purpose of Gelfand's suit at the end of the 1983 trial, he noted that the text of Gelfand's briefs "make it evident that these documents were written, not as legal arguments to persuade the court, but rather as a political attack which, when published and reproduced by the thousands, could be foisted upon an innocent public readership as bearing the stamp of approval of this court."

And this is precisely what has happened. In August 1985 the Workers League published a two-volume book entitled, *The Gelfand Case: A Legal History of the Exposure of U.S. Government Agents in the Leadership of the Socialist Workers Party*. The volumes include courtroom transcripts and exhibits.

Vast resources have been committed to the WL's disruption operation. Testimony from Gelfand and his lawyer established that by April 1982, nearly a year before the case went to trial, more than \$150,000 had already been spent on the suit and that the money was raised by WL National Secretary David North. Since then the WL has spent additional hundreds of thousands of dollars on the operation.

Moreover, from 1980 at least through the 1983 trial, two people from the Workers League were functioning as paid "investigators" for Fisher & Moest, the high-priced law firm handling Gelfand's litigation.

Despite the substantial financing of Gelfand's suit, despite more than 7,000 pages of questioning of SWP leaders, despite the labors of the two WL paid "investigators," at the conclusion of the five-day trial in March 1983 Judge Pfaelzer told Gelfand's lawyers, "You have not proved anything that you said you were going to prove. Nothing."

Judge Pfaelzer also stated, "I can only assume that the only motive was to paralyze the SWP. If I had been presented with one piece of evidence that these people are agents of the United States government I wouldn't be so disturbed."

Pfaelzer stated at the close of the trial that she intended to rule in favor of the SWP. But more than three years later there has still been no ruling.

A couple of weeks after the trial, lawyers for the SWP filed a motion asking that Gelfand and the Fisher & Moest law firm be required to pay the SWP more than \$390,000 in costs and attorneys' fees.

The motion argues that the party, having been vindicated in court, is entitled to be repaid all its costs. In addition, the motion asks that a "multiplier" be applied on any attorneys' fee award because Gelfand and

his attorneys used a groundless lawsuit to slander and victimize the SWP. Such a multiplier could increase the award two or three times.

As attorney David Epstein noted in his brief, the WL-financed lawsuit against the SWP has been "the most vexatious, harassing, and burdensome litigation imaginable."

This motion, too, is still pending three years after the trial's end.

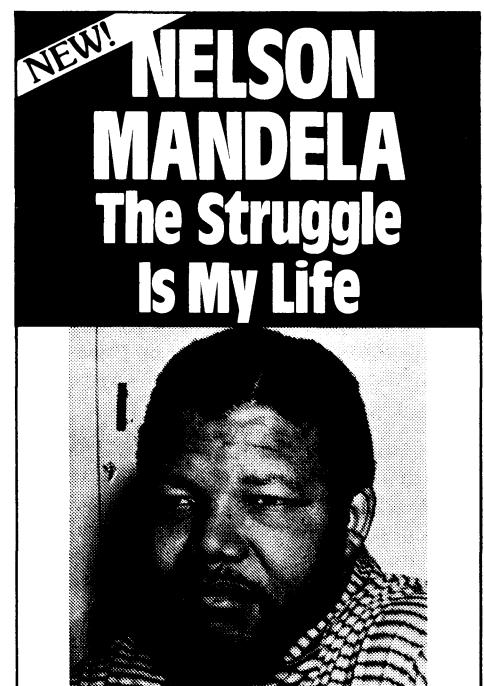
Shortly after this motion was filed an approach was made by the lawyers representing Gelfand and Fisher & Moest to settle out of court the question of legal fees and expenses. The SWP agreed to this and began negotiations. But Gelfand and Fisher & Moest refused to carry discussions further, and the SWP is still waiting for a proposal.

The fight to defend democratic rights that are challenged by the Gelfand suit and threatened by an unfavorable ruling by Judge Pfaelzer continues.

Scores of union officials, civil rights leaders, farm protest figures, women's rights fighters, civil libertarians, and representatives of political organizations have expressed their support for this democratic rights fight. Many sent messages to protest rallies held in 50 cities on the eve of the trial. Others have made statements since.

Anthony Mazzocchi, former vice-president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, stated, "This case threatens to establish the precedent of government interference in any political organization, from the NAACP to NOW [National Organization for Women] to the Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador."

Getting out the word about this case and the stakes involved remains a necessity if this attack on democratic rights is to be defeated and the WL disruption operation dealt a sharp blow.



"The struggle is my life," wrote Nelson Mandela in a letter from the underground in June 1961. "I will continue fighting for freedom until the end of my days."

In this book the imprisoned leader of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa explains the goals of the African National Congress (ANC). His writings and speeches are brought together here with accounts of Mandela in prison by fellow prisoners. \$6.95

Available at local bookstores or by mail (include \$75 for postage). Published by Pathfinder Press 410 West Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10014

Farmers urged to back Canadian strikers

BY JIM UPTON

The following article is scheduled to appear in a coming issue of *Socialist Voice*, published every two weeks in Montreal. Jim Upton spent a month this summer in Edmonton, Alberta, reporting on the Gainers' strike for *Socialist Voice*.

TORONTO, Ontario — At the strike-bound Gainers meatpacking plant in Edmonton, 1,080 members of United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 280-P are fighting to win a parity settlement similar to those established at other major meatpacking companies in Canada.

They are up against Gainers' owner and Conservative Party (Tory) multimillionaire Peter Pocklington. Armed with a sweeping court injunction and the blessing of his Tory friends in the provincial and federal governments, and backed up by hundreds of Edmonton cops who have arrested more than 400 on the picket line, Pocklington is out to break the strike and impose further takebacks on the workers.

Prior to June 1 when the strike began, Gainers' Edmonton plant was killing and processing about 4,000 hogs and 600 to 800 cattle daily. The only other major hog plant in Alberta is Fletchers in Red Deer. A similar strike there ended June 19 when UFCW Local 1118-P2 won a parity settlement after 18 days on the picket line.

While the resumption of production at Fletchers has provided an important outlet for Alberta hogs, the strike at Gainers has forced some producers to ship their hogs out of the province at a cost of \$15 per animal in added transportation and handling costs. Gainers has been trying to use this to turn hog farmers against the striking workers.

The company has also responded to a union-organized boycott of Gainers products with a letter urging 70,000 Alberta cattle, hog, and grain farmers to "contact your nearest meat store and ask that Gainers products be put back on their shelves."

Douglas Ford, executive director of Gainers' agriculture services and author of the letter, falsely charged that the boycott of Gainers products is a "direct attack" on Alberta farmers because, he claimed, "any attempt to hurt us will also hurt the producer." In fact, Gainers has been trying to pit hog farmers and workers against one another for some years now. By simultaneously driving down workers' wages and farmers' prices, it hopes to increase company profits.

Gainers attacks hog farmers

In June 1984 Gainers launched a campaign against the Alberta Pork Producers' Marketing Board's (APPMB) control over the sale and pricing of hogs in the province.

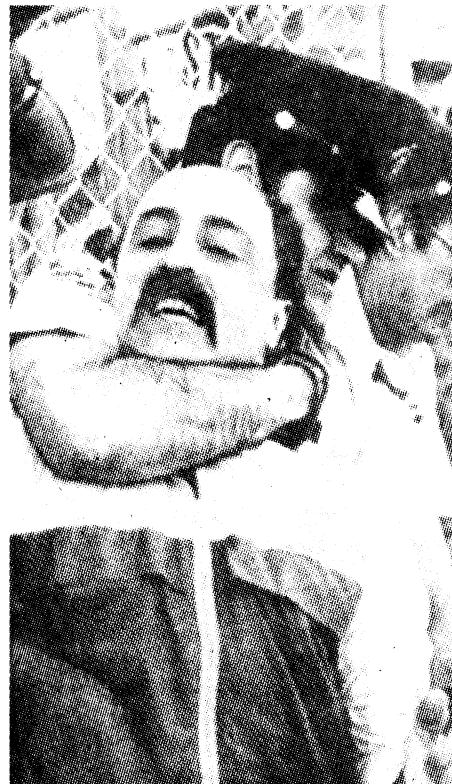
The APPMB was established in 1969 to act as an agent for Alberta's 6,000 hog farmers. All meatpacking plants in Alberta must buy hogs from the board, which, given its mandate to obtain the best possible price for hog producers, has the right to set a minimum selling price based on North American market conditions. While this does not guarantee producers a fair price for their hogs — one that covers their cost of production and a decent return on their labor — many farmers believe it gives them more price protection than if they individually sold on the Alberta market to the big packing companies.

The Fletchers plant was purchased by the APPMB in 1981 to guarantee a marketing outlet to Alberta hog farmers.

Pocklington charged that the board was allocating hogs unfairly by favoring its own Fletchers plant over Gainers. He also launched a court case challenging the board's right to set a minimum price for hogs, arguing that prices were being kept artificially high.

As part of his campaign to break the board's control over the sale and pricing of hogs, Pocklington put pressure on Gainers workers to support his efforts. Meetings were held on company time where workers were urged to call their Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) and help circulate petitions backing Gainers in its dispute with the board.

In an interview with *Socialist Voice*, Local 280-P President John Ventura explained, "Pocklington made all kinds of



Hundreds of strikers and other unionists have been arrested for opposing use of scabs by Gainers, a pork-processing company in Edmonton in Canada's Alberta province.

promises, for example, that as soon as he began to make a dollar he'd share it with us, but that he needed changes with the board in order to survive."

After meetings with the board and with hog farmers and despite strong pressure from Pocklington, the Local 280-P executive refused to take Gainers' side in the dispute. Ventura explained, "We didn't want to hurt the farmers. Because if you hurt the farmers, you hurt yourself. If there's no money in raising hogs, there won't be any hogs to slaughter. Farmers need a fair price for hogs, but Pocklington wanted to pay them as little as possible."

Despite the executive's refusal to support his campaign, Pocklington did not give up. Helmut, a striking member of 280-P, explained that workers were told that "if Gainers didn't get cheaper prices for hogs, then we might not keep our jobs. There was talk of layoff notices being prepared, so some workers thought maybe

there was some truth to all this and supported Pocklington."

Workers went out and collected thousands of signatures on petitions, phoned their MLAs, and even picketed the board's office carrying signs supporting Gainers.

Pocklington's next move was to convince a bare majority of Local 280-P's membership to accept a major concessions contract in July 1984 by pleading a financial crisis and threatening major layoffs or closure of the plant. The starting wage was cut by \$5 an hour, many workers lost major benefits, and the company imposed forced overtime, speed-up, and increased harassment of workers.

Another attack on farmers

Having succeeded in cutting labor costs, Pocklington returned to his attack on the pork marketing board.

In November 1985 Gainers announced that it would no longer buy hogs from the board at the prices it set. Instead, in an effort to lure producers away from the board, it offered them \$7 more per hog than the APPMB's price. Gainers President Leo Bolanes organized meetings with hog farmers around the province in an effort to win them over. Although it is illegal to buy hogs directly from farmers by going around the board, no move was made to prosecute Gainers.

Some hog farmers took advantage of the higher offer and sold directly to Gainers. However most stuck with the board, realizing that once Pocklington had broken the pork producers' ability to set a minimum price, Gainers would drive prices down below those currently set by the APPMB.

As a result of the fight waged by hog farmers, the courts rejected Gainers' legal challenge to the board's right to set a minimum price for hogs.

Fletchers then signed a new deal with the board to take almost all Alberta hogs at the price set by the board. Gainers was faced with the prospect of being largely frozen out of the Alberta market. The provincial government then stepped in and arranged a truce whereby both Fletchers and Gainers were guaranteed an equal number of hogs weekly, at prices set by the board.

Having reached a stalemate in its battle with the hog farmers, the company turned its attention back to the Gainers workers. Despite a big increase in profits — in large

part as a result of the 1984 concessions combined with speeded up production — Pocklington refused to honor his promise to reward workers when the company's position improved. Insisting that Gainers needed to do even more to gain a competitive advantage over other major packers, Pocklington not only refused to grant parity, but demanded further concessions. This forced the workers out on strike in June.

The company has been blaming the workers for the losses suffered by hog farmers during the strike and urging farmers to join the company in fighting the union's boycott of Gainers' products.

Gainers has won some allies in its campaign. Reflecting the views of wealthier hog farmers, Ed Schultz, general manager of the Alberta Pork Producers Marketing Board, said the board has launched its own "nonpublic" campaign to counter the boycott of Gainers products.

John Oberg, regional coordinator for the National Farmers Union, believes such a policy is not in the interests of Alberta hog farmers. He told *Socialist Voice* that "by delivering hogs to Gainers, farmers are only prolonging the strike."

Oberg also told a recent meeting of the NFU that the Gainers workers' "demand for parity is not an unreasonable request. Mr. Pocklington wants to make large profits by paying lower wages to workers and buying cheaper hogs from farmers."

John Ventura shares Oberg's opinion. He says that "Pocklington was trying to destroy the board to get hogs for as little as possible. But he's realized he can't take on two opponents at once. So he temporarily has a truce with the board while he's taking on the union. Once this battle is finished, he'll go back at the board."

Alberta's hog farmers can be a powerful ally of Local 280-P in its fight for parity. This is one of the lessons of UFCW Local 1118-P2's victory at Fletchers.

The local got a booth at the annual Pork Congress held in Red Deer during the strike. This allowed union members to present their case directly to the 800 hog farmers. Once they heard the workers' side of the story, many farmers began putting pressure on Fletchers management to settle. This pressure helped the union win at Fletchers. A similar alliance would greatly aid the Gainers strikers in their struggle for parity.

'People's Daily World' smears Hormel fight

BY FRED FELDMAN

The *People's Daily World*, a newspaper expressing the views of the Communist Party, charged July 26 that the North American Meat Packers Union (NAMPU) was "playing the company's game" by challenging the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) in an upcoming representation vote by employees of Geo. A. Hormel & Co. in Austin, Minnesota.

When the members of UFCW Local P-9 in Austin were first forced on strike by Hormel in August 1985, the *People's Daily World* (then called the *Daily World*) voiced support for the struggle. The *World* still says it shares P-9's goal of stopping concessions and forging a strong union.

In recent months, however, the *World's* stand has increasingly echoed the attacks on the meatpackers by top UFCW officials. The July 26 column by Bill Dennison and an accompanying editorial, "Unity is the key," are the harshest criticisms to date.

According to Dennison, "The concern among many is that, given the confusion and divisiveness of the past year, 'no union' will win over NAMPU or the UFCW in the representation election."

The editorial suggests that a vote for NAMPU would be no better: "The busting of the union in Austin or the establishment of some 'independent union' at this plant where over 30 percent of Hormel's production takes place would be a setback for meatpacking workers everywhere."

Clearly, the *World* favors a vote for the UFCW against NAMPU in the election.

The editorial states that "differences that developed in the past year over the conduct of the strike or the relationship between the local and International union need to be put aside."

But in neither the editorial nor the column did the *World* put aside its differences. In fact, Dennison calls the strike "divisive." He claims that "most unionists now agree that Local P-9's decision to bargain alone, against the advice of the UFCW and other Hormel locals, was wrong." This "proved a disaster for Hormel workers," he complains. The editorial also chimes in with a denunciation of P-9's alleged "go-it-alone approach."

These charges, which Dennison sweepingly attributes to "most unionists," were actually made by top UFCW officials such as President William Wynn. The charges are false, however, as an objective look at the record shows.

Well before the beginning of the strike, Local P-9 sought unified bargaining — including common expiration dates in contracts — for all UFCW locals at Hormel plants. The story of this fight, and how it was sabotaged by UFCW International officials, was told by suspended P-9 President Jim Guyette in a May 1986 affidavit opposing the UFCW officialdom's imposition of trusteeship on the local. The affidavit was reprinted in the July 25 *Militant*. (For a copy send \$75 to the *Militant*.)

Another good source for the facts about what P-9 did before and during the strike is *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*, published by Pathfinder Press. This new pamphlet by Fred Halstead is based on extensive interviews with the Austin unionists.

Once forced on strike, P-9 actively sought and won solidarity from UFCW locals in the Hormel chain and other UFCW locals in the meatpacking industry. Its members have spoken to and won support from thousands of unionists across the

United States, as well as in Canada and Britain. Scores of union locals adopted P-9 families during the strike in order to help them with rent and other expenses. Dennison would have a hard time digging up evidence to show that most workers think P-9 was wrong.

In January, when Hormel began herding workers hired as strikebreakers into the plant, Wynn publicly denounced the strike as "mass suicide." A "special report" from UFCW headquarters claimed that Hormel "has not rejected good faith collective bargaining." On March 14 Wynn ordered P-9 members to return to work unconditionally.

On May 9 the UFCW International officers declared the local in trusteeship and suspended the elected officers. An appointed trustee was placed in charge of negotiations with Hormel. When the courts upheld the trusteeship, Wynn's appointee called off the strike.

Every one of these moves was carried out over the opposition of the big majority of P-9 members. By setting up NAMPU and organizing to win certification in the plant, P-9 workers are continuing the struggle against Hormel. They have not broken from this course, but are attempting to carry on the fight by any effective means that they can. They continue to seek unity with packinghouse workers in the Hormel chain and at other meat-processing plants.

It is Wynn and other top International officials who have separated themselves from the perspective of uniting packinghouse workers in a struggle against the employers. It is they, and not NAMPU, who are "playing the company's game." The *People's Daily World* has directed its outrage to the wrong address.

Why three activists became socialists

'In the 9th grade I was illiterate'



Militant/Harry Ring

BY HARRY RING

At the recent Socialist Educational and Activists Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, I talked with some of the people who were attending for the first time. One of them was Arnold Davis, who has been a member of the Greensboro, North Carolina, chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance for 10 months.

Davis, 25, joined after a period of political discussion with Rich Stuart, a member of the Socialist Workers Party whom he worked with at a textile mill in the area.

Their discussions began about the fight against South African apartheid.

"One of the things that got me interested in apartheid," Davis explained, "was that High Point, where the textile mill is, is also the furniture capital of the world. But there are no Black factory owners. The factories you go in, you hardly see any, if any, Blacks in the office. I saw that Blacks always had the hardest, dirtiest jobs at the lowest pay. And we had no say."

"None of the furniture factories were union, and we had no say about how much we made, or the production, or the profits."

"At the textile mill, there was a union, but it wasn't active. I realized what Rich was trying to do. Everything he did, it was evident he was trying to build the union."

"We started out talking about apartheid, but then we talked about what it would take to bring about radical social change here."

The discussions stimulated Davis to visit the Greensboro Pathfinder Bookstore. The first book he bought was *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. "That really hopped me up."

Davis had heard of Malcolm but didn't really know much about him. "But when I read about how he grew up, some of the things he went through, then I wanted to read his speeches, because I felt I could understand what he was thinking about, what he was trying to do."

There was a solid basis for his understanding of Malcolm.

Davis came to Greensboro from an impoverished rural area in North Carolina.

"I started pulling tobacco when I was seven," Davis recalled. "I went to school. But when I quit in the ninth grade, I was illiterate. When I went to fill out a job application, I couldn't spell the name of my high school. That's illiterate."

Five years later, at age 20, Davis learned to read in much the same way Malcolm X did.

Jailed on a marijuana charge, Davis got in trouble in jail and was put in isolation. There he used the *Bible* to teach himself to read.

Out of prison, he used the local library. "I began getting books on child psychology, so I could learn how to raise my three children. My father was a fundamentalist preacher. I didn't see anything he did for his children that I wanted to do for mine."

Last April Davis' education took a qualitative leap. He applied for and won a scholarship to the Spanish-language school

in Estelí, Nicaragua, and spent two months there.

He learned a little Spanish, he said, "a foundation." But the big thing was "seeing the self-determination the people have and what they're fighting for. And their attitude toward me."

"In Nicaragua, you can find hardly any racism. In the house where I stayed, the first thing the sister said was, 'Negro y blanco es igual. No hay problema aquí — Black and white are equal. No problem here.'

"And you come back here and see Reagan pumping up the public about Nicaragua. It really gives you an idea of how wicked this government is."

Pointing to the mounting problems of working people in this country, Davis said, "Capitalism is bringing about its own defeat. It's not Nicaragua the capitalists have to worry about — not if things keep going the way they are in this country."

'Nicaragua didn't just applaud Cuba'



Militant/Osborne Hart

Now 25, Aaron Ruby was one of the younger of the radicalized youths that developed out of the Vietnam war. As a teenager he picketed for civil rights, supported the occupation by Native Americans at Wounded Knee, and joined in trying to make his high school a fit place to attend.

But his most profoundly radicalizing experience was the five years he just spent living and working in Nicaragua.

On graduating from high school, Ruby faced a thorny problem. He knew he wanted to help achieve fundamental social change in this country but he had no real idea how it would be done.

He decided to get out of the United States in the hope of seeing things better from a different perspective.

He headed south of the border, working for a time in Mexico and Guatemala, and then went on to El Salvador and Honduras, with Nicaragua his final destination.

"It was valuable," he observed, "to see other Central American countries before seeing Nicaragua. It prepared me for the revolution."

"Just walking across the bridge from Honduras, and you knew this was it."

"It took maybe five minutes just looking around. Seeing people with guns who looked friendly, customs agents who were young and friendly, billboards urging people to educate themselves. You could look the police in the eye and not be afraid. That was something you couldn't see anywhere else in Central America."

Ruby applied to the government for a job and was assigned to teach high-school English at Estelí. He learned more about the revolution.

And he saw firsthand what the *contra* war really was. In May 1984 he was with a coffee-harvesting brigade in the area of San Juan del Río Coco when a heavy *contra* attack occurred.

"My best friend was killed, leaving two children and a wife. Two of my students

were killed."

Experience, reading, discussions, all helped deepen his understanding of the revolutionary process.

And he began to understand something else. "You begin to see the relationship between all the different things you fought for — Black rights, Indian rights, youth — it's all linked."

Thinking this through posed something more. "I began to have questions about where I should be, where are you needed most? That's one of the things the Sandinistas teach you — you don't just go where you feel good, but where you're needed."

"I decided I had to go to the heart of the matter — to come back here. As the Nicaraguans say, to contribute my grain of sand, to help change the system here, no matter how long it takes."

Ruby discussed an important factor that helped him to decide to come back.

In Nicaragua, he had become acquainted with the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Mainly, he said, through reading *Perspectiva Mundial* and occasional copies of the *Militant*.

When in Managua, he sought out members of the *Militant-PM* bureau for discussion.

And on several occasions he met participants of *Militant-PM* tours. "They organized miners' tours, other workers. I met them, I talked with them. I didn't see any other groups doing that."

"You know," he added, "when some of my old friends would come down I liked to point out that the Nicaraguans didn't just stand around applauding the Cuban revolution. They did applaud it. But they also made a Nicaraguan revolution."

But at the same time, he continued, "one of the most important reasons I was able to come back was because I felt there was something to come back to. I have a lot to learn. I wouldn't be capable of starting something on my own. If there was no Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance, I don't know if I would have had the courage to come back."

"I had the luck to be in Nicaragua to see things change," he said, "to see how they change, to have the confidence in what's going to happen here, and to have confidence in the party and YSA."

'A farm loan? You're just a girl'



Militant/Harry Ring

Kathy Nease bought her own farm when she was 21. Three years later she was forced to sell it.

Now 28, Nease has been a railroad crew dispatcher for the past eight years. She's a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks. Since last spring she's been a member of the Newark Young Socialist Alliance.

Nease comes from an Ohio farm family. Her father lost his farm in the 1930s depression, but as a youngster she worked summers on relatives' farms.

At Texas A&M and the University of Pennsylvania, she majored in agricultural subjects. Working the entire time, by 1979 she'd saved up enough to make a one-third down payment on a 50-acre farm in Pennsylvania. She had a dairy herd and raised animal-feed crops.

Nease obtained her mortgage with the assistance of the federal Farm Credit Bureau, but had to keep working full-time on the railroad to meet the substantial monthly mortgage payments.

"My family and friends helped a lot," she said. "But my farming neighbors at first thought I was crazy. There were 26 farms in the community, and mine was the only one run by a single woman. It took time to be accepted."

But she was. A neighbor suffered a broken arm, and each day Nease helped his wife milk the herd. She became accepted as a friend and farmer.

"Everything was going really well," she said. "We were able to increase the crop output and the amount of livestock. My dairy-farm neighbor and I even leased some additional land."

Then, in 1982, it hit. On five days' notice she was laid off her rail job. There was no way to meet the mortgage payments. She went back to the Farm Credit Bureau and asked for a loan to plant that season's crop and to meet the mortgage payments for six months.

They told her: "Well, you're just a girl! We can't give you a loan. You don't have a husband, a family."

She rented the farm out for a period, worked part-time jobs, and approached every available government agency and credit union for a loan. None would help.

"I anguished over it, spent most of my savings, sold off equipment and livestock."

That only postponed the inevitable. Finally she accepted the offer of a local corporation and sold the farm before it was foreclosed.

"They wouldn't say what they were going to do with the land. But what they did finally was to build town houses."

"The farm had two nice barns and a drainage system we had put a lot of work into to make the winter wheat more productive. It had a farmhouse built in 1865 that my father and I had had done over completely."

"They bulldozed it all."

"There was nothing I could do. It didn't matter how much my neighbors helped. There was really nothing they could do. The government has the loans tied up."

"They have a very strange system of subsidies. Some agencies said I didn't have enough land to qualify. Others said I had too much. If I wanted to be a 'gentleman' farmer with 10 acres, I could have gotten a \$50,000 loan."

Afterward, Nease began thinking through what had happened and what it meant — including her earlier activity as a Young Democrat. On the basis of her experience, she says, "I began to realize the United States is not for equality, and this land is not your land."

Finally called back on the railroad, she met and got into political discussions with Karen Kopperud, an engineer and member of the Socialist Workers Party. Transferred on her job to Newark, Nease joined the YSA there.

"There are," she explained, "too many struggles in this country for working people and farmers to just sit back."

School board weighs student strip searches

A school board in New York may adopt a new policy allowing school officials to strip search students for drugs.

If the proposal is adopted by the Warwick Valley School Board on September 8, some 2,600 grade school, junior high, and high school students could be searched if "probable cause exists."

Kay Michelfeld, president of the school board, said she backed the proposal, calling it an effort to "protect the learning environment."

Civil libertarians have denounced the proposal.

Human rights under attack in East Timor

BY MALCOLM GAULT-WILLIAMS

Despite strenuous efforts by the U.S. administration to avoid raising the issue of human rights during President Ronald Reagan's April visit to the Indonesian island of Bali, repression by the Suharto regime — both in Indonesia itself and in the neighboring territory of East Timor — dominated press coverage.

East Timor was brought to public attention by two letters — one addressed to Secretary of State George Shultz from 23 U.S. senators, and one addressed to Reagan from 122 members of the House of Representatives.

The senators drew attention to the violence and repression that have plagued East Timor since the 1975 Indonesian invasion of that former Portuguese colony. Mentioned were secret detention centers, continued intimidation of clergy and members of the Catholic church, and widespread malnutrition and related health problems.

The congressional letter addressed human rights abuses by the army and the continued fighting in East Timor between the Indonesian military and the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin).

It expressed alarm about the birth control program in East Timor which, according to church sources, "is being carried out often without the consent or knowledge of the mostly rural population." It called on Reagan to ask the Indonesian government to put a halt to such practices.

The letter stated that the United States should press "for a fair and peaceful settlement of the East Timor conflict."

Currently, 80 percent of the arms used by the Indonesian army in East Timor are supplied by the U.S. government.

East Timor has been subject to foreign domination for more than four centuries —

first by Portugal, which ruled until the Portuguese military dictatorship was overthrown in 1974.

Indonesian occupation

In November 1975 a government led by Fretilin came to power in East Timor, declaring independence on November 28. Eight days later Indonesian troops invaded.

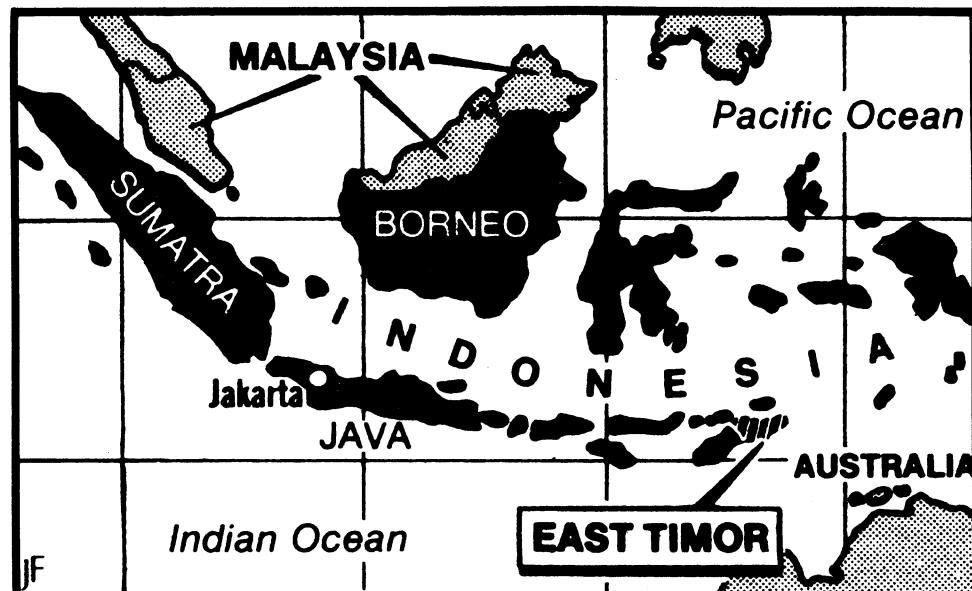
More than 200,000 Timorese (out of a total population of 700,000 before the invasion) have died since then — about half from military massacres and bombings, the rest from starvation. Today the Indonesian regime maintains that East Timor is the 27th province of Indonesia.

Fretilin continues to resist the Indonesian occupation, however. Earlier this year, three maps — one belonging to the Indonesian military, and two to Falintil (East Timorese National Liberation Armed Forces — the armed wing of Fretilin) — were smuggled off the island. These provide convincing proof of Fretilin's presence throughout East Timor, with Falintil companies operating in 10 sectors of the country.

International pressure

International pressure in support of Timorese independence also continues. At the end of last year, 75 members of the Japanese House of Representatives and House of Councillors wrote to UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuellar supporting UN General Assembly Resolution 37/30, which was adopted in November 1982.

This resolution not only instructs the secretary-general "to initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned," but does so "with a view to exploring avenues for achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problem."



Since then, however, the consultations have involved only Indonesia and Portugal, excluding East Timorese representatives.

The Japanese politicians wrote: "Surely you will agree that discussions that do not include the East Timorese, notably Fretilin, could not possibly lead to any meaningful solution of the fate of these same East Timorese ... a cosmetic solution which ignores the fundamental right of the East Timorese to determine their own fate can only prolong the conflict."

Meanwhile, Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja has stated that he will "obliterate" East Timor from the UN General Assembly agenda. In 1985 Indonesia scored a victory when a vote to drop East Timor from the UN Human Rights Commission agenda was passed. Mochtar was less successful in April last year, however, when he failed in his efforts to persuade the meeting of foreign ministers of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in New Delhi to keep East Timor off the agenda of the movement's summit conference at the end of August this year.

Elections

In related developments, the Portuguese government is seriously considering a pro-

posal that a UN representative be sent to observe Indonesia's 1987 parliamentary election in East Timor. The rationale behind this is that a high turnout and huge majority for the Indonesian army's political wing, Golkar, would justify accepting this as a "legitimate act of self-determination" — a sign that the East Timorese have accepted integration.

Such a move by the UN would, in effect, give a cloak of legality to the Indonesian occupation force's conduct of the election.

General elections in Indonesia have long been exposed as a farce. Golkar enjoys huge privileges over the other two permitted political parties. The farce is even more cynical in East Timor, where all indigenous East Timorese parties were dissolved or banned as soon as the Indonesian army took control in the towns. Timorese are required to "choose" between three foreign-imposed parties.

The 1982 election results in East Timor were so farcical that even the *Economist*, a conservative weekly published in Britain, referred to them in its May 8, 1982, issue as being "hard to swallow." Coercion is used throughout Indonesia itself to ensure a high turnout and to secure a massive majority for Golkar. The level of coercion is far worse in East Timor, where the military plays an even more decisive role.

New Zealand gov't releases Rainbow Warrior bombers

BY CATHERINE FRASER

The New Zealand government has formally released two French secret service agents into French military custody.

The two French spies, who were released July 22, had been sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by a New Zealand court in November last year on a manslaughter charge arising from the blowing up of the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior* in a New Zealand harbor on July 10, 1985. The bombing, which was carried out by agents of France's General Directorate of External Security (DGSE — France's equivalent of the CIA), killed photographer Fernando Pereira.

The bombing operation was greeted by outrage, both in New Zealand and internationally. The Socialist Party government of President François Mitterrand initially denied all responsibility. In the face of a series of revelations in French newspapers, however, Prime Minister Laurent Fabius finally admitted on September 23 last year that the DGSE had been acting on government orders.

Three days earlier, the French Defense Minister, Charles Hernu, had been forced to resign, and the head of the DGSE had been sacked.

The French government sought to defend its actions, however, on the grounds that Greenpeace was a "legitimate" target because of its opposition to French nuclear testing in the South Pacific.

The *Rainbow Warrior* had sailed to New Zealand from Vanuatu to link up with a flotilla of yachts that were planning to sail to Mururoa Atoll to protest against French nuclear testing in the Pacific.

Greenpeace, an international environmental organization, has played a leading role in the campaign for a nuclear-free Pacific. On the way to New Zealand, the *Rainbow Warrior* assisted the people of Rongelap, whose island was showered with nuclear fallout during U.S. testing in the Marshall Islands in the 1950s, to shift to a safer island.

Terms of deal

The terms of the deal negotiated between the French and New Zealand governments

were greeted with widespread indignation in New Zealand when they were announced on July 7 this year.

Under this agreement, which was worked out by United Nations Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuellar, the French government formally apologized to New Zealand for the bombing and paid \$7 million in compensation. The New Zealand government, for its part, agreed to release the two agents to French military authorities.

The agents are to spend the next three years at a French military base on Hao, an island in French-ruled Polynesia. They may not leave the island during this time without the consent of both governments, but may live with their families and meet with friends. A spokesman for Jacques Chirac, France's prime minister since the elections earlier this year, has said that they will be given military assignments on the base.

This agreement comes after months of economic pressure from Paris. In February, a shipment of \$4.6 million worth of lambs' brains from New Zealand was refused a license for import into France. Orders from the French colony of New Caledonia for meat and seed potatoes were also canceled.

Delaying procedures were used against consignments of wool to processors in northern France (New Zealand supplies about 30 percent of France's wool imports), as well as other goods.

In May, French Trade Minister Michel Noir and Agriculture Minister François Guillaume threatened to step up trade sanctions and to have New Zealand's quota for butter imports to the European Economic Community stopped. New Zealand's trade with France is worth \$110.8 million a year and accounts for some 1.9 percent of New Zealand's total exports.

Meanwhile, France is also continuing its underground nuclear testing at Mururoa Atoll. The first test for 1986 (and the 73rd at the atoll since 1975) took place in April. Last year there were seven tests conducted at Mururoa.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

The assault on women's rights

How has the growing participation of women in the labor force changed their view of themselves and their potential? How has it affected the attitudes of men toward women?

Why do the employers, media, government, and schools and churches promote "the feminine mystique" and glorify the family?

These are some of the questions that are taken up in the introduction by Mary-Alice Waters to the book *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*. The August issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* runs the first half of this introduction. The second half will appear in the September issue.

The book Waters introduces includes articles from a lively debate in the pages of the *Militant* in 1954 over the relation of "beauty aids" and fashions to the exploitation of women.

Waters places this discussion in its historical context, reviewing the gains made by women since World War II, especially their incorporation into industrial union jobs.

"Three decades later," Waters notes, "many women recognize that most of the questions discussed here — and the social pressures they reflect — are still with us."

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Utah steelworker campaigns for jobs for all

SALT LAKE CITY — Mary Zins, a steelworker who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Utah, is making unemployment a central issue in her campaign.

She opened her campaign with a news conference at the Job Service office here. Zins said she chose the location to "dramatize the plight of working people in Utah, particularly that of the workers at Kennecott Copper, who have been laid off and are struggling to get back."

About 2,400 members of the United Steelworkers and 12 other unions have been out of work since March 1985, when Kennecott shut down the open pit mine, mill, and smelter at its Utah Copper Division near Salt Lake City.

Utah Power and Light recently laid off 500 coal miners. USX Corp. is threatening to close its Geneva works in Utah County.

Many Utah dairy farmers are being forced out of business. Nearly 200 dairies, about 20 percent of the total in the state, are expected to close as farmers sell their herds.

Zins is running against Republican Senator Jake Garn, a supporter of Reagan administration policies. There are two Democratic Party contenders, State Senator Terry Williams and Riverton Mayor Craig Oliver.

Socialist candidates are also running for two seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. Scott Breen, an oil refinery worker, is running in the second congressional district, which includes Salt Lake City. David Hurst, a coal miner, is the candidate in the third congressional district in southern Utah.

All will have ballot status in the November election.

Socialists will be on November ballot in Illinois

CHICAGO — The Illinois Board of Elections has stated that there were no objections to the petitions filed for the Socialist Workers Party slate in the state elections this year. The board's statement means that the SWP candidates will appear on the November ballot in Illinois.

The SWP ticket includes Omari Musa for U.S. senator, Diane Rolling for governor, Jim Little for lieutenant governor, Holly Harkness for secretary of state, Scott

Dombeck for state attorney general, Jim Miles for state comptroller, and Stephen Bloodworth, Cathleen Gutekanst, and Pedro Vásquez for University of Illinois Board of Trustees.

Supporters of Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic candidate for governor, threatened to challenge the SWP petitions but dropped the threat after examining them.

Stevenson also petitioned for a place on the ballot. He removed his name from the official Democratic slate after two followers of the National Democratic Policy Committee, headed by Lyndon LaRouche, won nominations for lieutenant governor and secretary of state in the primaries.

Patriotism debated at Minn. forum

ST. PAUL — August Nimtz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor, participated in an August 16 debate on Afro-Americans and patriotism at the Marketplace Forum, sponsored by the Inner City Youth League and Summit University *Free Press*.

Opposing Nimtz was Lew Freeman, the Republican candidate for state attorney general.

Freeman is an official of the NAACP. He portrayed U.S. patriotism as a way for Blacks to get a bigger piece of the pie.

Nimtz said the problems facing workers and farmers would not be solved by flag-waving. "The assumption of patriotism is that all classes have common interests. But I have no sense of community with those who profit from apartheid, put roadblocks in the way of isolating the apartheid regime, and try to crush the Nicaraguan revolution. The rulers of this country are patriotic about profits."

Freeman claimed that the Soviet Union is the greatest threat to democracy. He said that people in the United States have the right to protest, petition, and assemble.

Nimtz pointed to the struggle of meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, who have been attacked repeatedly with court injunctions, arrests, and the National Guard. "Any rights that workers and farmers have were won in struggle against the U.S. capitalists and their government, and those rights are under growing attack. The U.S. rulers are the threat to democracy in the world today," he said.

During the question-and-answer period many in the audience voiced anger at Freeman's reactionary positions.

Struggle leaders are featured at San Diego rally

SAN DIEGO — Leaders of some important struggles were featured speakers at an August 1 rally here kicking off the campaign of Allen Grady, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 44th District.

Thomas Penn, father of Sagon Penn, a youth framed up on charges of murder and attempted murder after he defended himself against a brutal police assault, thanked everyone present for their support. Penn was acquitted, but the district attorney is seeking a new trial on lesser charges.

Thomas Penn said the fight would continue until his son was free of all charges.

Terry Cunningham from the San Diego Says No on LaRouche Committee condemned Initiative 64. This initiative had been placed on the ballot following a campaign by the National Democratic Policy Committee, led by Lyndon LaRouche. It would sharply curtail democratic rights for all those suspected of carrying the AIDS virus.

Another featured speaker was Sam Manuel, SWP candidate for U.S. senator.

Working-class fighter runs for Minnesota governor

BY FRED FELDMAN

Like many workers, Tom Jaax has tried his hand at a lot of jobs and has worked in various parts of the country. Now he's bringing his accumulated knowledge and experience to bear as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota.

I interviewed him on August 14, the last day of the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, which we both attended.

Jaax was born in 1946 in Mankato, a town in southern Minnesota not far from Austin, where the struggle of the meatpackers at the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. plant is centered today. He grew up in the town, where his father owned a local bus company.

Tom went to work for his father, doing maintenance work on the buses. Later he attended Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota.

I asked Tom about other jobs he has held.

Ranch hand

"I worked on a ranch in Montana for a while, as a sheepherder," he said. "The workers were mostly migrants, very low paid with no union protection. They traveled the Western states looking for work to survive."

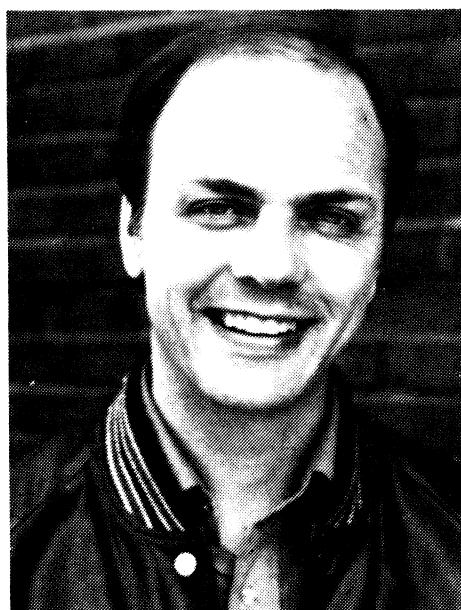
"I worked on a housing program in rural Wisconsin. I was a cutter in a garment shop and then a machine operator in a knitting mill. Right now I'm laid off."

The housing job had a strong effect on his thinking. "This was a program that insulated and heated homes for poorer working people. My job was to inspect the houses and check the work. A lot of people who needed this help were farmers and widows of farmers, mostly elderly people. It made me angry to see these old people being forced to desperately struggle to survive after a lifetime of working. I saw people in the process of losing land they had lived on for their entire lives."

Discovering the 'Militant'

It was in 1975 that Jaax first came upon the *Militant* newspaper in a Wausau, Wisconsin, public library. He subscribed and began reading it regularly. He first learned about the Socialist Workers Party in the pages of the *Militant*. He began reading about socialist election campaigns in the *Militant* and sometimes heard the party's candidates on radio and television.

"Some things I followed in the *Militant* affected me strongly, like in 1978 when the coal miners went on strike and President



Militant

Tom Jaax

Carter tried to break them. Above all, there was the *Militant*'s coverage of the Nicaraguan revolution.

"By 1981 I knew I had to find out more about the Socialist Workers Party. That summer I drove up from Minneapolis to a forum in Virginia, Minnesota, on the Iron Range. After that I got active in the socialist movement."

In February 1984 Jaax went to Nicaragua as part of a brigade of volunteers from this country to help harvest the cotton crop. He spent several days in Managua before the brigade headed for the village near León where they worked. "So I had the opportunity to walk on my own through the capital city."

"Because I worked in a textile mill, I wanted to visit the textile mill in Managua. I brought with me some T-shirts from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, the union I belong to. The local union people at the Managua mill showed me around."

Experiences in Nicaragua

"One thing that struck me about the Managua mill was that there weren't any people around acting like bosses over the workers. The workers weren't constantly worried about losing their jobs, whereas in my mill there are constant threats of a complete shutdown, and many people are laid off."

"The union had an office in the plant in the Managua mill. The women's organiza-

tion was active there. I saw a group of workers coming out of a mass meeting, marching and chanting revolutionary slogans right on the company grounds. And the tour wasn't conducted by a boss but by workers like myself."

"The production priorities at this mill were based on what working people needed. The mill used to make expensive shirts for export, now it made uniforms and diapers and such."

Cotton harvest

Working on the cotton harvest, Tom said, "gave me a taste of what farm workers experience. We were on a plantation that formerly belonged to Alfonso Robelo, a top leader of the *contras*, who are attacking Nicaragua. The farm now belongs to the Nicaraguan people."

"It was hot, hard, long work. We never came close to the productivity of the Nicaraguan farm workers, who picked more than 150 pounds of cotton a day. I experienced the poverty of the Nicaraguan countryside, which the workers and farmers are striving to overcome by advancing the revolution."

"Despite Nicaragua's poverty, people had great pride in beginning to take control of their country, their factories, their land, and their lives. You saw great determination and confidence that the war waged by Washington against Nicaragua would be defeated."

Both before and since being a candidate, Jaax has been actively involved in supporting the struggles of farmers. "I've attended meetings of the American Agriculture Movement and the North American Farm Alliance. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers local I belong to actively supported a farmer's fight against foreclosure here in Minnesota. I distributed petitions opposing the foreclosure in the plant and attended the protests. My coworkers and I were very proud of the stand the union took on this."

Meatpackers' struggle

From January to May this year, Jaax lived in Austin, where he reported for the *Militant* on the Hormel meatpackers' strike led by Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union. He attended the nightly union meetings and participated in the picket lines and demonstrations.

"This was probably the greatest experience of my life," he said. "I saw the process unfold of workers becoming leaders. I saw them turn their union into a democrat-

ic, effective instrument for fighting the employers. The Austin workers have tremendously strengthened my confidence in the working class of this country."

Now that Jaax is a candidate he is continuing to talk about the struggle of the Hormel meatpackers and its significance for workers throughout the state. Since Local P-9 was put under trusteeship, he has supported the North American Meat Packers Union (Original P-9) in its efforts to be recertified as the union at the Hormel plant.

Incumbent governor Rudy Perpich, who is running for reelection on the Democratic ticket, twice sent the National Guard into Austin in an effort to bust the Hormel strike. Jaax opposed these moves, as he has every use of the courts and other government agencies to attack the Austin workers. "Now they are taking away their unemployment compensation. I want to help put a stop to such crimes against working people."

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Onward Christian soldier — "If you are a pacifist, you don't try to teach at West Point." — Rev. Frank Haig, a Catholic educator,



Harry Ring

endorsing the papal firing of Rev. Charles Curran, a theological dissident, from his post at Catholic University.

Sure, let's be reasonable —

"A nuclear power plant is a very complicated piece of machinery with a great many parts and a great many systems. There is no pretense at perfection on anybody's part." — A federal nuke official philosophizing on a Jersey plant that was built — and licensed — with an important safety system designed and installed backwards.

The new Clarence Darrows — It's a heavy weekend exodus from Yupperville, N.Y., to the plush Hampton beaches, but it's a good deal. "I woke up this morning at 6:30," says one budding attorney, "but it's worth it. You get a good reaction when you tell people you go out to the Hamptons."

A number — Guillermo Prado, a worker at the Nassco shipyard in San Diego, was killed by a falling piece of lumber, the area's sixth industrial fatality this year. Opined the local OSHA director, "That's about average."

Yuppieburger King — Ex-Yippie Jerry Rubin hopes to expand his New York "networking" operation catering to single professionals into a networking chain of eateries. Some 1.65 million shares of stock are being hopefully offered, along with a federally required "high risk" warning.

Fashion tip — Charivari, the New York men's boutique, is featuring flannel shirts at \$120,

which struck us as a bit pricy until we learned they have opalescent buttons.

Like part of the show, man — Operators of rival sightseeing "information" booths at Niagara Falls have been employing rocks, bombs, and bullets to improve their competitive positions. Complained the prez of the local motel association, "When tourist information booths are getting bombed, people don't get a very good impression of Niagara Falls."

Nickel and dime 'em to death — With the world's poorest nations now \$1 trillion in hock, a congressional committee is weighing "microbanking" — like lend-

ing a family in Bangladesh \$35 to set up a peddling business. Or \$249 for a Dominican to buy a vendor's tricycle. Just give them the money? That, obviously, would be un-American.

Skim milk for summer wear? — Dutch researchers are probing turning a huge milk surplus into textile fiber. A decade ago they tried making it into artificial meat.

Double feature — We recently took note of Junior's, the Pensacola funeral parlor featuring a drive-in window. But that's like slow motion. At Frank Givens' in Detroit, they have a drive-through window where two stiffs can be displayed simultaneously.

CALENDAR

COLORADO

Denver

Labor Fights Back, the Struggle Against Concessions and the Challenge Facing the Union Movement Today. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Sept. 6, 7:30 p.m. 25 W Third Ave., Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

CONNECTICUT

Hartford

Remember August 30, Free Puerto Rican Political Prisoners, Independence for Puerto Rico. March and rally. Sat., Aug. 30, 10:30 a.m. Meet at Zion St. and Park St. Ausp: Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression. For more information call (203) 523-7428 or (212) 286-0924.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Worker Drug Test: Attack on Democratic Rights. Speakers: Ernie Rousselle, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union; George Bor-

benave, Communications Workers of America; Eugene Blackman, American Federation of Government Employees; Glenn Swanson, Socialist Workers Party and member United Auto Workers. Sat., Aug. 30, 7:30 p.m. 3207 Dublin St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Labor Day Open House. Video interview with Winnie Mandela. Meet socialist candidates. Mon., Sept. 1, 1-3 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Meet the Union Candidates for Public Office. Socialist Workers campaign open house. Speakers: Clare Fraenzl, United Mine Workers of America member and candidate for governor, and Mark Weddleton, United Steelworkers of America member and candidate for U.S. congress 14th C.D. Mon., Sept. 1, 12-3 p.m.,

after Labor Day Rally. 402 N Highland Ave. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1986 Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

VIRGINIA

Tidewater

New Stage in Hormel Meatpackers' Fight, Its Meaning for Labor and Movements for Social Change. Speaker: Mike Alewitz, muralist, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Sept. 7, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Meet West Virginia and Pennsylvania Socialist Candidates. Campaign Barbecue. Sat., Sept. 6, 4 p.m. Tyron Rd., Morgantown. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 362-6767 (Pittsburgh), (304) 296-0055 (Morgantown), or (304) 345-3040 (Charleston).

Celebrate Socialist Workers Party Victory in Lawsuit Against Government

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Victory for Democratic Rights. Discuss the impact of the federal court decision. Translation to Spanish. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Sept. 5, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Victory Rally. Sat., Sept. 13, 8 p.m. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

Big debate is brewing at Nonaligned conference

Continued from front page

officials" to Harare to "help in the coverage of the meeting."

But signs of Washington's hand in opposing Nicaragua have already emerged. The proimperialist governments of the African countries of Cameroon and Gabon have said that they will propose the next summit be held in Indonesia. They have also stated that Peru would be an acceptable compromise. Peruvian officials, however, have denied that their country is in the running.

Initially, opponents of hosting the conference in Managua have claimed that Nicaragua would be too high a security risk given the presence of the counterrevolutionary bands there.

Supporters of Nicaragua have noted, however, that the present summit is being held in Harare, only a stone's throw away from the apartheid beast in Pretoria. They have also argued that to host the next conference in Nicaragua would be a moral act

of solidarity with the people of Nicaragua and other fighters against oppression in the region. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega is expected to arrive later in the week to personally present Nicaragua's case for hosting the next conference.

Taking place in Zimbabwe, the conference is at the very door of the apartheid regime of South Africa. The gathering is largely seen as an international act of solidarity with the struggle of the people of South Africa against apartheid. The fight against apartheid in South Africa and South African rule over Namibia is expected to be a central discussion at the conference.

Both the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South West Africa Peoples Organisation of Namibia (SWAPO) have sent delegations.

The ANC delegation includes Mfanafuthi Makatini, head of the international department of the ANC. In a press briefing, Makatini explained that the ANC expected the Nonaligned movement to propose an early date to convene the United

Nations Security Council in order to discuss comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime.

"We attach a great importance to the nonaligned summit," Makatini continued, "because it is being held at the doorstep of the apartheid state and is bound to fan the flames of freedom burning fiercely in the hearts of the South African people."

In addition to calling for full and comprehensive sanctions against Pretoria, the draft declaration of the summit reconfirms the long-standing opposition of the movement against apartheid. It condemns South Africa's occupation of parts of southern Angola and demands the withdrawal of its troops.

The declaration also denounces Washington's support to the South African-backed UNITA bands in Angola and its policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria.

Democratic Party politician Jesse Jackson also arrived here today. Jackson held a news conference at which he called on

President Reagan to participate in a proposed meeting on southern Africa. The meeting would include the African countries of Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Mozambique.

Jackson will meet with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and visit an ANC center that was bombed by South African war planes here. He will not be participating in the Nonaligned conference.

One hundred and one countries and observers are expected to participate in the summit, which will take place in three parts. Currently the conference of senior officials is taking place. Their job will be to set an agenda, establish committees, and approve the draft declaration to be proposed to the final summit. This meeting will be followed by a conference of foreign ministers, who will prepare the groundwork for final documents to be presented to the full summit of heads of states. The meeting of the heads of states, which begins September 1, will be the decision-making body of the conference.

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MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

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NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 114 E Quail St. Zip: 12706. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. **Socialist Books:** 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: SWP, YSA, 2219 E Market. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 1701 W Bancroft St. Zip: 43606. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 2732 NE Union. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA: **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 402 N. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 336 W. Jefferson. Zip: 75208. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 767 S. State, 3rd floor. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave. Zip: 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: **Seattle:** SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 611A Tennessee. Zip: 25302. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Women build ceramics factory in Nicaragua

BY NORA DANIELSON

ESTELÍ, Nicaragua — Socorro Gonzales is a single mother with two teenage children. She has never worked outside the home in her life. Never, that is, until early this year, when she pulled on a pair of fatigues, picked up a shovel, and went to join 60 other women and seven men in building a factory that will house the Guadalupe Carney Cooperative for Production of Ceramics and Conserves (COPAC).

The day I visited the factory in June, the workers were nailing up rafters, mixing concrete, laying bricks, and digging a trench for the sewer line. The women proudly showed us the 10-meter-deep well they had finished digging to provide water for the concrete.

We were struck by the size of the building, which seemed nearly as large as a football field, and impressed by the work they have accomplished with nothing more than shovels, trowels, hammers, and sweat.

"Generally this work is for men," Gonzales said, and immediately corrected herself. "Has been for men. In the past we women were, as we say here, marginalized by the old regime. With the revolution we are an integral part of development."

Gonzales is one of a group of five women who first got together in the spring of 1985 to organize a ceramics cooperative. The regional government was interested in the idea. It estimated that as much as 90 percent of the area's fruit was going to waste and wanted to find a way to preserve the fruit and distribute it for consumption.

Joint effort

The result is COPAC, a joint effort between cooperative members and the Nicaraguan government, which is financing the factory construction with the help of international aid.

Preparations began last winter. While half the workers learned ceramics production, the other half studied the basics of industrial jam- and jelly-making from home economics students at the nearby teachers' school. The cooperative held regular meet-

ings to develop the factory plans and round up building materials. On Jan. 21, 1986, ground was broken for the factory on land donated by a local farmer.

Ninety-five percent of the women building the factory are single mothers. "There in the back will be the CDI [Child Development Center]," said Gonzales, pointing to an empty field behind the factory. "The majority of us who work here have five, six, eight children. It's difficult for a woman to work if children get sick. There is nowhere to leave them. The women don't have husbands to help them. Thinking of this, we decided to include the CDI as part of the project." Five members of the cooperative are currently training to work in the center.

The women have designed the factory to include a dining room and kitchen, as well as three areas with gardens and water to make it a pleasant place to work.

Attractively designed

The ceramic jars for the jams and jellies will be attractively designed so they can be kept and used as glasses and cups, which are expensive for Nicaraguans. But on Saturdays the women will be able to use the ceramics wheels for more creative work, making handicrafts they can sell in the factory store.

The workers wanted to finish the factory in time for the July 19th celebration of the revolution's seventh anniversary, but unusually heavy rains slowed them down. In addition, the mine that was the source of the special clay needed for the ceramics kiln bricks was attacked by *contras*, delaying the building of the ovens.

The cooperative members take turns providing all-night armed protection for the factory against possible attack by the U.S.-backed mercenaries.

The factory will eventually provide jobs for 250 people, and the cooperative hopes to distribute its products throughout the country.

On leaving, I noticed a pig sleeping in the dirt outside the communal kitchen. "He will be big when we finish the factory, and we will have a big feast to celebrate," Gonzales said.

Youth share political experiences at international camp in France

BY JACKIE FLOYD

PEYRELEUADE, France — Youth from 14 countries exchanged political experiences and rallied against imperialism at the third International Youth Camp held here July 13-18. Some 600 youth attended the camp, which was organized by European youth organizations in solidarity with the Fourth International.

Last year's camp, also held in France, drew 800 participants.

The camp, held at a campground in south central France, was hosted by the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR).

The largest delegation, with more than 200, came from the French JCR. Its main political campaigns are building broad protests against racist attacks and deportations of immigrant workers and organizing unemployed youth.

Large delegations of more than 50 youths arrived from Belgium, Britain, and Italy. There were also delegations of 20 or more from the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and West Germany. About a dozen youths attended from Portugal and seven from the United States, including six from the Young Socialist Alliance. There were smaller delegations from Canada, Senegal, and Tunisia.

Most camp participants were between 15 and 26 years old. Many were not yet members of revolutionary socialist youth organizations or had joined recently. For example, two young women who had hitchhiked from Sweden to the camp had learned about the camp from an ad and were surprised to meet young socialists from Sweden and other parts of the world.

The panels and workshops, which were

translated into several languages, took up a broad range of political issues. These included the fight against apartheid in South Africa, unemployment, women's rights, organizing students, strikes in Europe, and the fight against nuclear power.

Participants also took part in many formal meetings between delegations from the various countries, as well as informal discussions.

The Belgian youth reported that recruitment to their organization has increased over the last year, particularly among vocational students. These students' education involves classroom study as well as on-the-job training. Most become industrial workers after graduation.

The Belgian youth are also active in the fight for abortion rights. Abortion is illegal in Belgium, forcing many women to go to Holland for abortions. Some laws also prohibit women from working at night. While nurses, bartenders, and waiters can get exemptions, factory workers cannot.

The British delegation included a striking print worker and activists from Broadwalk Farms, a Black community fighting against police brutality.

Many attended workshops and panels on the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. A lively discussion and debate took place on the character of the South African revolution. An anti-apartheid rally featured as keynote speakers a representative of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and an activist from Capetown, South Africa. At a rally in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution, greetings were read from the JS-19, the Sandinista youth organization in Nicaragua.

The camp ended with another rally on "Youth and the Revolution." Fabio, a member of the Italian youth organization Revolution, called upon camp participants to build solidarity with Nicaragua and South Africa.

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Militant

Nicaraguan government and cooperative members are collaborating to build new ceramics factory. Above, Socorro Gonzales on construction site.

Boss's thugs teargas strikers, herd scabs at Maryland plant

BY BILL SAGLE

BUCKEYSTOWN, Md. — Eastalco Aluminum Co.'s contract with United Steelworkers of America Local 7886 expired at midnight on August 1.

About two hours into the four-to-midnight shift, union workers were escorted out of the plant by nonunion company guards. Picket lines could not be legally set up until midnight. At midnight, 12 Maryland state police cars rushed to the plant's front gate to block the entrance to pickets. This attempt to intimidate workers provoked a confrontation, and one worker was arrested.

Eastalco established a private paramilitary force to protect the plant and is trying to operate the plant with more than 200 nonunion employees. The security force has used tear gas on pickets without provocation and recently posted a neo-Nazi slogan on the plant's sign board at the main gate. The pickets now know the type of people we are dealing with.

The issue in the strike forced by Eastalco is concessions.

In 1983 the company asked for and got

concessions amounting to \$5.5 million over three years.

Each worker gave up about \$1.36 an hour.

In 1986 Alumax Inc. (Eastalco's parent company) made a profit of \$38 million in the first six months, up 72 percent over the first six months of last year. But Eastalco is demanding more concessions. This time Local 7886 said "no."

The concession package is neatly disguised. Instead of open cuts in pay and health benefits, the company is pressing to restructure vacations and redefine job classifications. Workers could lose up to two weeks vacation and three of five leave days. The redefined job classifications would have production workers doing unfamiliar production jobs and maintenance workers performing certain production tasks. The job combinations and vacation losses mean that between 80 and 120 jobs would be in jeopardy. Saving jobs is the central issue.

Bill Sagle is a member of USWA Local 7886.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

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Everyone who has participated in the movement to ban the testing of nuclear weapons must feel at this point that we are right back where we started from — perhaps worse off, for the talk of World War III has grown ominously louder.

Moreover, the explosions projected by the Kennedy administration look like a final test run on a whole array of bombs of varied power, while the Soviet project aims at a bomb of such destructive force as to be qualitatively different from anything yet produced.

Who is to blame for this dark turn of events?

Kennedy points at Khrushchev's August 31 decision to resume testing. This is a revolting display of hypocrisy.

Eisenhower suspended tests because he had to bow to world public opinion after the Kremlin took the initiative and declared a moratorium on tests. But Washington has sought a plausible pretext ever since to resume testing. As late as June 17 a note was sent to the Soviet government stating that "national security" would not allow for the indefinite suspension of tests in the absence of a "treaty" to bar the testing of nuclear weapons.

Moreover, to all the repeated proposals of the Soviet government to begin complete disarmament, Washington has re-

mained deaf. Indeed, Kennedy, following the "brinkmanship" of the Eisenhower administration, has taken the opposite course, pushing the armaments race to new heights of insanity. By winking at the atom-bomb tests which [French] General de Gaulle ordered in defiance of world opinion, Washington helped pave the way for the major powers to resume poisoning the world's atmosphere with radioactive dust.

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

September 3, 1976

NEW YORK — The CIA cannot use "national security" as an excuse to cover up all evidence of its burglaries and wiretaps against U.S. citizens, U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa said. Griesa brushed aside the CIA's blanket claim of "state secrets" privilege at a July 29 pretrial hearing in the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the CIA, FBI, and 10 other government agencies.

CIA Director George Bush has already admitted in a sworn statement that the spy agency carried out break-ins and electronic surveillance against SWP members who traveled overseas.

But the government refuses to give any details of CIA wrongdoing, to allow a CIA witness to testify, or to produce CIA records on the SWP or the Fourth International, the international Trotskyist organization.

Government lawyers appeal to a catch-all section of the CIA charter to justify such tight-lipped secrecy.

Ideas the FBI tried to silence

In October 1961, J. Edgar Hoover's office sent a letter to the field offices of the FBI. "The Socialist Workers Party," the letter complained, "has . . . been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting causes such as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South. . . ."

"Offices receiving copies of this letter are participating in the Bureau's Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program. It is felt that a disruption program along similar lines could be initiated against the SWP. . . ."

This letter gave the go-ahead for the infamous FBI Cointelpro operation against the SWP, aimed at silencing the party and preventing it from freely expressing its political views.

Through its landmark lawsuit against this illegal government disruption, the SWP brought to light thousands of pages of secret FBI memos that revealed not only how the political police used burglaries, wiretaps, poison pen letters, and informers against the SWP, but how they also used similar methods to target groups like the Communist Party and Black Panther Party, Malcolm X, and organizations protesting the U.S. war in Vietnam.

Judge Thomas Griesa, in his August 25 decision on the SWP suit, ruled, "These disruption operations were directed at the kind of political activities that the SWP had a constitutional right to carry out." The government's spying and harassment, he said, was "patently unconstitutional" and "violated the SWP's First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly."

This is an important victory for democratic rights — especially today, when trade unionists are finding their right to free speech and assembly under fire from the employers, company spies, and the courts; when opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America are being targeted by informers and illegal surveillance; and when fighters for Puerto Rican independence and for Black rights are being hauled into court on trumped-up charges.

How should *Militant* readers celebrate this victory? First and foremost, by stepping up our efforts to do exactly what J. Edgar Hoover tried in vain to stop with

his 1961 memo: getting out the truth. And the best way to do that is to join in our drive to sell 10,000 subscriptions to the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Starting with this issue, the *Militant* will be featuring articles on the importance of the court decision in the socialist lawsuit for fighters today. And what they can learn from the record amassed in this legal battle on how the government's secret police targets union activists, opponents of U.S. war policy, fighters for Black freedom, and groups struggling for women's rights.

The *Militant* will also carry regular reporting on the socialist campaigns for public office that Hoover sought to discourage with his 1961 memo. We will continue our coverage on the gains of the Cuban revolution, which, 25 years after Hoover's memo, continues to grow stronger. And on the battles for Black rights, from desegregation to affirmative action on the job.

We will continue sending our reporters around the globe to cover important developments like the current meeting of the Nonaligned movement in Zimbabwe (see story on front page) and the deepening struggles in the Philippines and Haiti.

The *Militant-Perspectiva Mundial* bureau in Managua will keep bringing readers firsthand accounts of the Nicaraguan revolution and the battle of workers and peasants there to defend and deepen the gains they have won.

Our correspondents in the Midwest will keep you informed of the latest developments in the expanding struggle of meatpackers for their rights on the job and for a fighting union movement.

And we will continue the *Militant*'s tradition of opening our pages to workers whose story is covered up by the big-business media. Like the story on page 3 of this issue, where postal workers speak out on the brutal, degrading work conditions they suffer, facts hidden by the major-media accounts of the recent shootings at the Edmond, Oklahoma, post office.

Every *Militant* reader can help "openly espouse" the truth the FBI doesn't want working people to hear. Sign up your coworkers, friends, and neighbors for a *Militant* subscription today!

A victory in Silkwood case

The Kerr-McGee Corporation's August 22 announcement that it will pay the estate of Karen Silkwood \$1.38 million in an out-of-court settlement is a victory for the Silkwood family and its supporters.

The 10-year-old lawsuit charged that Silkwood and her home became contaminated with radioactive plutonium because of negligence and inadequate safety procedures at the Kerr-McGee nuclear fuel plant near Crescent, Oklahoma. Silkwood worked there as a laboratory analyst.

A union activist, Silkwood had begun gathering evidence about safety violations at the plant. On the night she was killed in a car crash in 1974, Silkwood was taking this documentation to a *New York Times* reporter and a staff person from her union, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. When her body was pulled from the car wreckage, however, the documents were gone.

The team investigating Silkwood's death on her family's behalf uncovered the existence of a ruthless, elaborate government-company spy system that linked Kerr-McGee to the Georgia Power Company, the Atomic Energy Commission (the predecessor of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission), and the FBI. Following her death, the Oklahoma Highway Patrol and the Justice Department also cooperated in trying to close the file on the cir-

cumstances surrounding the car crash as quickly as possible.

In 1979 an Oklahoma state jury awarded the Silkwood estate \$10.5 million in punitive and compensatory damages. This was reversed by a court of appeal. In 1984, however, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that state courts could impose punitive damages on Kerr-McGee. Following this decision a new trial was ordered.

Kerr-McGee continues to deny any blame for the contamination. Thanks to the evidence uncovered over the last 10 years, however, millions of people around the world believe the company to be responsible for Karen Silkwood's death.

An accident at the company's uranium processing plant at Gore, Oklahoma, on January 4 this year has only reinforced this belief. The explosion of an overloaded tank released poisonous, radioactive gases that killed one worker and injured at least 30 other people. A Nuclear Regulatory Commission report last September had listed "repeated" safety violations at the plant going back as far as 1978.

While the settlement in the Silkwood case is a victory, the struggle against on-the-job hazards that she gave her life for continues.

Building a tomb at Chernobyl

A monument is being built in the Soviet Union near Kiev that will stand as a symbol of the horrible hazards of nuclear power for many years to come. This huge structure, being built out of tons of concrete, will entomb the Chernobyl nuclear reactor, where a disastrous accident occurred earlier this year. That tragic mishap sent a radioactive plume 2,200 feet into the air. Winds carried the radiation across the western part of the USSR and much of Europe.

The workers building the mammoth sarcophagus at Chernobyl can only spend limited amounts of time in the contaminated area — an hour in some cases, minutes in others. Crane operators sit in cabs with lead shielding. Other cranes and bulldozers close to the plant are operated by remote control.

The entombment project is being directed from a former bus station 18 miles from the power plant. Cement is being hauled daily from plants more than 70 miles away. The challenge is building a concrete containment structure that will permanently encase the damaged reactor, which is expected to remain radioactive for hundreds of years, so that residual heat will not build up and

lead to another explosion.

In addition to the construction project, a massive clean-up of the surrounding area is taking place. Tons of top soil is being scrapped up by bulldozers in parts of a 1,000-square mile area and hauled off for burial.

The Soviet government submitted a report to the International Atomic Energy Agency for discussion on August 25 stating that contaminated forests may have to be burned in an 18-mile zone.

"The measures being conducted to decontaminate the populated points will generally only lead to a temporary improvement of the radiation situation," the report said.

The report concluded that most of the 135,000 people who were evacuated from the area after the accident may not be able to return for as long as four years. New housing and jobs are being sought for them elsewhere.

The report raised the possibility that as many as 6,500 premature deaths will occur as a result of the accident. So far 31 people have died, and 203 have been treated for acute radiation sickness.

These grim statistics testify to the horrors of nuclear accidents and the necessity of shutting down all nuclear plants.

Read a book that explains the basic ideas of socialism

BY CATHERINE FRASER

All the evidence points to growing interest in socialist ideas, enough so that *Militant* supporters feel confident about winning 10,000 more readers in the next couple of months.

Many of these new subscribers are attracted to socialism because they have been affected by important

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

battles taking place in the world today — from Austin, Minnesota, to Nicaragua and South Africa.

They want answers to their questions about socialism. There are many places to turn, but a particularly good one is a book called *Socialism on Trial* by James P. Cannon. This book explains what socialists have been fighting for for the past 150 years.

Cannon was a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party and before that of the Communist Party.

In 1941 Cannon and 27 prominent members of the SWP and of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 were put on trial by the federal government for their political beliefs. At that time several members of the SWP held leadership positions in the Teamsters local. Eighteen of the 28 defendants were convicted and served prison sentences of 12 to 18 months.

These socialist fighters and union militants fought a vigorous defense campaign against the frame-up charges. They openly presented their views and their aims and *Socialism on Trial* — which is the record of Cannon's testimony in court — was an important part of this defense effort.

This trial took place because the Roosevelt administration was on a drive to take the United States into World War II. As part of its war preparations it sought to stifle the voices of all those who opposed the war.

Moreover, the trial was ordered as a favor for a close political ally — Daniel J. Tobin, head of the Teamsters International, who was trying to smash Local 544 and its leadership. This leadership refused to subordinate the interests of its members to the employers or to Tobin.

During his court testimony Cannon clearly and simply outlined the socialists' aims. "In general," he said, "we do not put any confidence in the ruling capitalist group in this country. We do not give them any support because we do not think they can or will solve the fundamental social problems which must be solved in order to save civilization from shipwreck."

"We believe that the necessary social transition from the present system of capitalism to the far more efficient order of socialism can only be brought about under a leadership of the workers."

In place of the present capitalist government, Cannon explained, "we have set as our aim the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government." Such a government "will frankly represent the economic and social interests of the workers and the producing farmers."

Cannon defended the SWP against the prosecution's charge that it was a conspiratorial organization plotting violence against the government. "The position of the Marxists is that the most economical and preferable, the most desirable method of social transformation, by all means, is to have it done peacefully," he said.

Historical experience has shown, however, that the old ruling classes will always fight back with violence against any attempt to remove their privileges. As one example, Cannon pointed to the Civil War in the United States, which was precipitated by the Southern slaveholders' refusal to reconcile themselves to the legal election of President Abraham Lincoln.

One of the strongest features of *Socialism on Trial* is Cannon's clear explanation of the causes of war, its inevitability under capitalism, and the attitude the working class should take to wars between rival ruling families from different countries. "We do not give any support to any imperialist war," he declared. "We do not vote for it; we do not vote for any person that promotes it; we do not speak for it; we do not write for it. We are in opposition to it."

Within this framework, Cannon went on to explain that the workers' struggle against fascism is inseparable from the fight against their own employers. He also urged support for the constitutional rights of soldiers — that is, workers in uniform — to express their political views and convince others of them.

Socialism on Trial is available for \$4.95 at Pathfinder bookstores (directory on page 12), or by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for handling. A Spanish-language edition — *Wall Street enjuicia al socialismo* — is also available.

Wisconsin auto workers debate abortion rights

BY CHRIS BREIHAN

"What has reproductive freedom got to do with our union?"

United Auto Workers Local 438 had a free-wheeling discussion of this question at a recent membership meeting. It had been raised by a group of fundamentalist

the number and variety of those who refused reveals the breadth of support for the right to choose among working women. Women known to be churchgoers were among the first to be approached. But one after another declared they didn't feel that they or anyone else could tell another woman what to do with her body.

Some members who did sign the petition later said they had been misled and demanded to have their names deleted.

The women's committee of the local responded with a letter of its own to the executive board, supporting the union's prochoice position. It also produced correspondence with the UAW Women's Department approving our local's abortion rights activities. Copies of these were circulated around the plant.

The eight men and three women who comprise the local's executive board unanimously rejected the motion contained in the petition against abortion rights. One officer said he saw abortion as a civil rights issue and considered our position correct. The others concurred.

Word went out that the fundamentalists would bring up their motion at the next union meeting. Both sides rounded up supporters. There were jokes about the "gospel" buses that would be parked outside the union hall that Sunday morning.

When Sunday came about 10 people gathered around the antiabortion cadre. More than twice that many sat

around the women's committee members. The "anti's" decided not to make any motions, settling instead for having their petition read and stating their views.

The union president allowed a real discussion to take place. While the "born-agains" asked what birth control had to do with the union, others took the opportunity to support safe, legal abortion and the union's stand that women have a right to choose. Among the latter was the local's first president, an elderly man who led the union in the 1940s. Also supporting the right of women to choose were several older women who recalled the terror of unwanted pregnancy in the days before abortion was legal.

The necessity of being able to control one's own reproduction in order to fully and equally participate in the work force was likewise brought up. So was the fact that the enemies of women's rights are also the enemies of labor. Any victory for these reactionaries — whether in union-busting or restricting abortion — sets back the union's cause by strengthening our enemies.

The general feeling at the conclusion of the meeting was that the antiwoman challenge had been beaten back. Several members expressed their desire to get involved in the union.

But it was also clear that more education on the issue is needed.

Chris Breihan is a member of the women's committee of UAW Local 438 at Delco Electronics in Oak Creek, Wisconsin.

UNION TALK

Christians as a challenge to the local's support of the March 9 "March for Women's Lives" in support of abortion rights. Three members of our local had been sent to the march.

Although Local 438 has been supporting a woman's right to abortion for the last five years, most of the fundamentalists had not been aware of it because of their general lack of involvement in the union. But when one union activist who opposes abortion rights decided to launch an offensive, he recruited them.

The fundamentalists' strategy involved presenting a letter to the executive board opposing the local's support of abortion rights and circulating it as a petition around the plant.

One petitioner approached workers with the line, "Did you know that 95 percent of our members are against abortion?" Given the response of those he approached, however, it's doubtful that even he still believes that.

Although some union members did sign the petition,

LETTERS

On strike

I am currently on strike with United Steelworkers Local 7886 against Eastalco Aluminum Co. in Buckeystown, Maryland.

We envision a long strike. Even though Alumax (which owns Eastalco) reported profits of \$18.7 million for the second quarter of 1986, they still are asking for concessions and job combinations that would surely result in layoffs for many of our workers.

We feel that we have to hold the line and appreciate any support.

Your efforts on behalf of all working people are greatly appreciated. I look forward to receiving the *Militant*.

In solidarity,
Bill Sagle
Sharpsburg, Maryland

Northern Ireland tour

I participated in the fourth annual tour of British-occupied Northern Ireland sponsored by the *Irish People* newspaper from August 1 through 12.

We saw British troops everywhere in the nationalist areas of Belfast and Derry, the two major cities in the north. Foot patrols and armored vehicles circle around constantly, pointing their guns directly at you.

Our bus was stopped and boarded by the police, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), several times.

We met with relatives of some of the roughly 700 political prisoners, as well as relatives of people killed by plastic bullets, which the British use for "crowd control."

Among the people I talked with, there is strong identification with Nicaragua and especially with the freedom struggle in South Africa. In Belfast the latest wall mural proclaims solidarity between the IRA and the African National Congress. In Derry the city council passed a resolution making the city an apartheid-free zone.

On August 10 we participated in the annual anti-interment demonstration in Belfast to protest the system whereby prisoners can be held for many months while awaiting trial and convicted solely on the basis of a forced confession or the testimony of a paid informer.

We marched with the contingent of Irish Northern Aid, the main Irish solidarity group in the United States. Also prominent was a contingent of 120 from the Troops Out movement in Britain, including a number of miners and members of Women Against Pit

Closures.
Marc Lichtman
New York, New York

Racists challenged

Recently another racist incident occurred in Philadelphia.

Amzie Denson wanted to find a place to live with her four children. She was taken to two homes by a real estate agent and greeted with two racist demonstrations. The first was in the Juniata Park section of the city, where 75 people gathered in front of the house Denson was considering renting. The second was in the Frankford section, where the house she looked at was spray-painted, "We want no niggers — KKK," and 30 people demonstrated.

Peg DeMarco from Frankford appeared on two television shows protesting the demonstrations and supporting the right of Denson to live wherever she wanted.

DeMarco's son identified Richard Keller as the person who spray-painted the house Denson was considering moving in to. Keller was arrested on charges of ethnic intimidation, criminal mischief, and damaging and defacing property.

One of the participants at the Frankford demonstration works at the Budd automotive plant, organized by United Auto Workers Local 813. About 50 percent of the 2,700 workers at the plant are Black. The worker's picture had been featured prominently in the *Philadelphia Daily News*. Xerox copies were posted throughout the plant with the letters KKK printed underneath.

So far he hasn't shown up at work. Apparently he has an idea of the anger that was provoked by his actions.

Steve Halpern
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

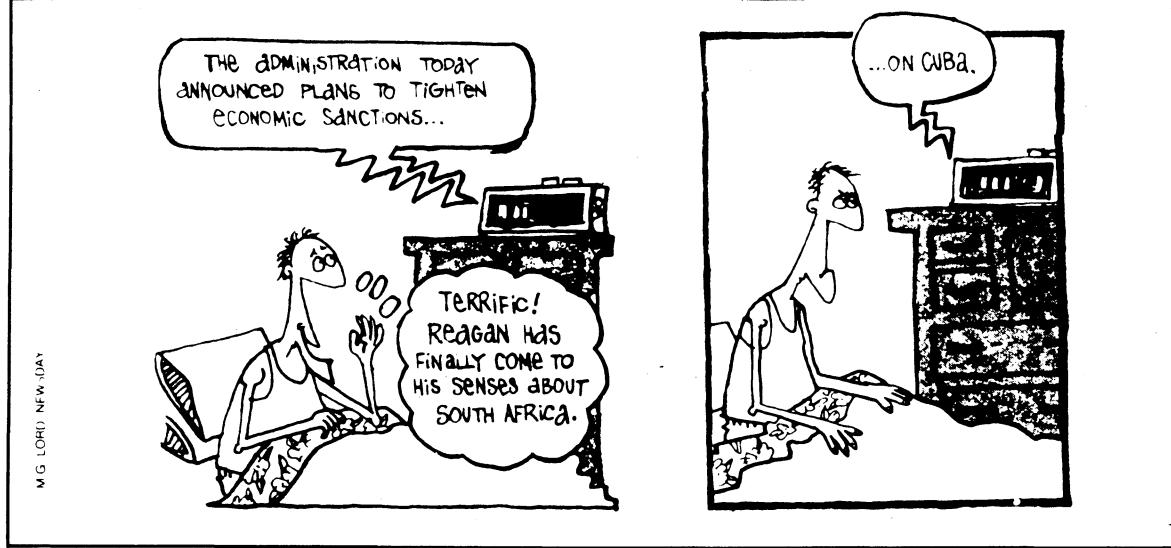
Cuban baseball team

I thought *Militant* readers might be interested to know that the Cuban national baseball team has been on a tour of U.S. cities.

On August 10 they beat "Team USA" 8 to 7 in Charleston, West Virginia, after trailing 6 to 1 in the third inning.

The *Charleston Gazette*'s report of the game took a special interest in whether these outstanding athletes wanted to leave their homeland.

"I don't want to come to the U.S.," said centerfielder and lead-off hitter Víctor Mesa. "I don't want to leave Cuba."



Cuban athletes get to participate in the sports they love while leading a life based on working-class solidarity and dignity.

In the United States, dog-eat-dog competition for a million-dollar contract is the reward for a dehumanizing and undignified life of media insults, invasion of privacy, codes of conduct, and commercialism.

The Cuban team is considered the finest amateur baseball team in the world. They are 24 and 1 this summer, having defeated "Team USA" in four consecutive games.

Dave Salter
Charleston, West Virginia

Black August

Perhaps over the years you have heard of Black August. Because of the blackout of the historical contributions made by Jonathan and George Jackson, many youths today have no idea who these brothers are.

It is ironic that the prisons hold this legacy.

Black August was a call made in 1979 from California prisons. Its purpose is to remember and mourn George Jackson and his younger brother, Jonathan.

Through their selflessness, these brothers became our martyrs. Martyrs are the result of a people's determination to be free.

Jonathan Jackson was 17 years old when he was gunned down on Aug. 7, 1970. George Jackson was 28 when he was gunned down on Aug. 21, 1971, in the yard in one of San Quentin's lockup units. These youthful brothers were leaders in our freedom struggle.

Here in the prisons of Indiana we want to observe Black August, 1986, in the spirit of our youth and all those brothers who've lost loved ones.

We are asking that you make an

effort to read the writings of George Jackson. And join with us as we remember, mourn, and renew.

In the spirit of Black August, full steam ahead!

A prisoner
Pendleton, Indiana

Cop violence

A few weeks ago I witnessed a disturbing incident at a festival in Greenwich Village here in New York. A white proprietor from one of the booths was chasing two Black youths down the street. The older youth got away, but the young boy was run down hard by a cop, who wrestled him to the ground, scraping his legs badly.

The cop then manhandled the boy, pulling him up off the street, and three other cops quickly surrounded him, ready to draw their guns. The ever-vigilant police snatched two toys from the pockets of the nine-year-old. He was then led up the stairs into the rector's office of the church that was sponsoring the festival.

The spectacle of four cops using force to apprehend a small boy for taking two toys outraged me. This occurred shortly after the much-publicized shooting of a cop by a 15-year-old Black youth. There must be a siege mentality among cops these days, where every Black youth, no matter how young, is a potential target of cop violence.

Kevin McGuire
New York, New York

Laura Whitehorn

We're writing to keep you posted on the latest government maneuvers in the case of Laura Whitehorn.

Laura Whitehorn was arrested on May 11, 1985, when a dozen FBI agents broke into a Baltimore,

Maryland, apartment in a hunt for North American revolutionaries. She faces charges of possession of weapons, false ID, and assault on a federal officer.

In late April she was transferred to solitary confinement in Alderson federal prison in West Virginia, solely on the grounds that her "political associations" and the "nature of the charges against her" make her a "security risk."

The conditions of Laura Whitehorn are particularly noteworthy because she is a pre-trial detainee (being held in preventive detention — no bail — and in contempt of court for refusing to turn over handwriting samples to the government.)

Since April she has been denied visits from friends and supporters, locked in her cell 23 hours a day, limited to one phone call to her attorney each week, and subjected to constant harassment by the guards.

Because the government has been trying to set such a dangerous precedent in this case, the Committee to Fight Repression began a national campaign to fight it. Now the government has transferred Laura Whitehorn to general population at the Metropolitan Correctional Center.

Political pressures have helped to make a difference in Laura Whitehorn's case — and we have to keep the pressure on for all political prisoners.

Eva Rosahn
Committee to Fight Repression
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Steelworkers fight USX lockout

Unionists resist company push to lower wages, slash jobs

BY FRED FELDMAN

USX steelworkers in Pennsylvania and Ohio won the right to unemployment benefits when state officials ruled that they are victims of a company lockout.

The governments of Minnesota, where USX has locked out 1,400 taconite miners, and Texas have also ruled in favor of the workers' demands for unemployment compensation. Alabama officials have approved unemployment pay for all but 400 of the locked-out USX workers in that state.

Steelworkers in Illinois and Utah, however, have been denied unemployment pay on the grounds that they are involved in a contract dispute with USX.

The Department of Agriculture has ruled that USX workers are eligible for food stamps.

The lockout began on July 31 when USX negotiator J. Bruce Johnston rejected an offer by negotiators for the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) to extend the present contract while talks continued.

This is the first time USWA members have been on the picket lines against USX in a national contract dispute since the 116-day strike in 1959 against U.S. Steel (the former name of USX) and the other big steel firms.

There have been no negotiations since the lockout began.

Concessions yield fewer jobs

The company demands that Steelworkers give up \$3.50 in hourly wages and benefits, agree to reduce job classifications from 33 to nine, and allow the company to continue increasing the use of nonunion contractors to do Steelworkers' jobs.

When the USWA accepted a concession contract at U.S. Steel in March 1983, Steelworkers were told this would save jobs. Since then, the company has cut 27,000 workers. Of the 44,000 employees covered by the USX contract, only 21,000 were working at the time of the lockout.

Moreover, the company ran roughshod over the provisions of the contract. It illegally contracted out work reserved for union members, violated seniority rules, combined jobs, and ordered employees to do work outside their job categories.

When violations were sent to arbitration under the grievance procedure and occasional rulings resulted in favor of the union, the company simply ignored them.

From 1983 to 1985 the company upped hourly per capita production by 49 percent. It was the only major steel producer to report making a profit from steel operations during this period. Its share of the U.S. steel market jumped by 10 percent.

More blackmail

Now USX is trying to blackmail workers with threats to shut down more than one-third of its steelmaking capacity or pull out of steel production entirely. Most of its profits now come from nonsteel operations.

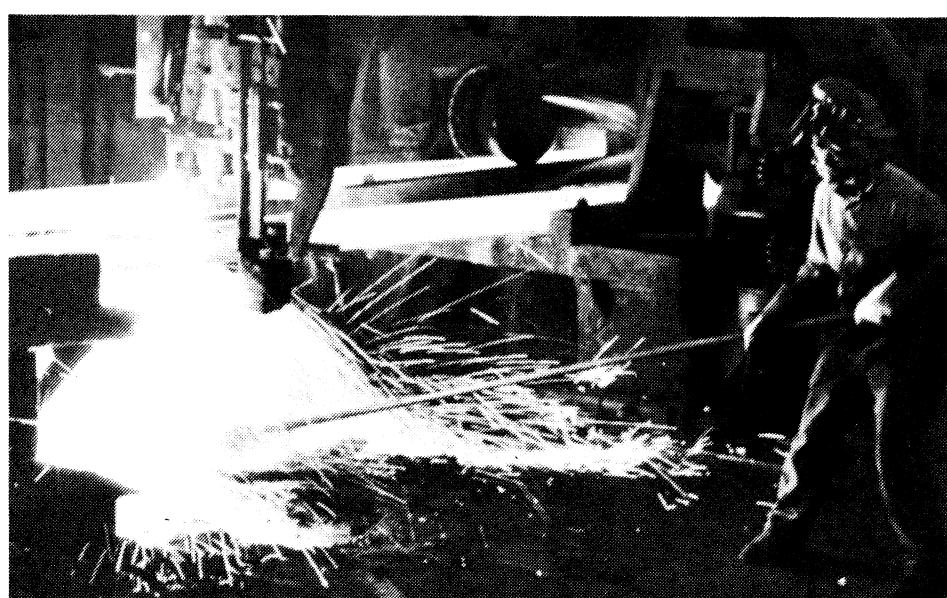
Past concessions made to USX and the recent concession contracts signed with National, LTV, Wheeling-Pittsburgh, and Bethlehem have made the USX bosses hungry for much more.

"We cannot extend our current labor agreement in the face of all the concession agreements you have provided our major competitors," company negotiator J. Bruce Johnston declared July 31.

In a letter to Steelworkers after the lockout began, Johnston threatened, "There are not enough seats in the steel lifeboat for everybody."

USX is demanding repayment by workers of medical coverage for August.

The company's arrogant stance has in-



Since 1983 concession pact, thousands of jobs have been cut at USX. Now, company demands pay cut and job combinations that would mean still fewer jobs and big deterioration in working conditions.

spired a strong desire to fight back among Steelworkers.

Immediately after the August 31 lockout at the Gary, Indiana, plant, a motorcade of union members went from the union hall to every gate at the works.

On August 6 and 12 hundreds of members and supporters of USWA Local 1014, which represents the Gary workers, rallied

at the plant gate.

On August 19 a large contingent of participants in the "Great Peace March," a cross-country walk in opposition to nuclear weapons, joined the USWA picket line in Gary.

At the South Works in Chicago August 4, hundreds sought to shut down part of the mill operated by nonunion subcontractors.

Twenty-seven Steelworkers were arrested August 13 when they sought to stop a train carrying steel from leaving the plant.

In Lorain, Ohio, 50 members and supporters of USWA Local 1104 stood on the railroad tracks and blocked the shipment of finished steel from the struck mill.

The Lorain Steelworkers called for a massive, united Labor Day parade by the unions in that city to protest the USX lockout and takeback demands.

At Clairton, Pennsylvania, near Pittsburgh, USX is operating its Chemical Division with what it claims are management personnel.

Labor solidarity needed

The Reagan administration has not commented on the strike yet. But an FBI attempt to use red baiting to divide and disrupt union picket lines shows the government's antilabor stance. In Gary, FBI agents visited union picket lines and warned pickets that their ranks were being "infiltrated" by communists.

On August 4 the AFL-CIO Executive Council accused USX of using "strong-arm tactics" to enforce "unwarranted and unjust wage reductions." The Executive Council formed a committee to coordinate assistance to the locked-out workers.

"We fought for everything for 80 years," laid-off Pittsburgh Steelworker Bill Gorol told a reporter, "and now they want it back."

Haiti protests hit U.S. military role

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

Some 4,000 people marched in Haiti's capital, Port-au-Prince, August 15 to protest U.S. intervention and military aid to the Haitian army.

On the same day U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz met with Haitian Gen. Henri Namphy to underscore U.S. support for the ruling military junta. Shultz also signed agreements increasing U.S. financial assistance to \$80 million this year.

The August 15 demonstration focused on Washington's military aid to the junta. A coalition of 24 labor unions, human rights groups, and political parties released a statement "protesting U.S. plans for military aid to the Haitian government."

The statement called for the withdrawal of the 11 U.S. military advisers "sent by the Pentagon to strengthen the repressive capacity of the Haitian army."

The U.S. embassy recently recommended that U.S. advisers train Haitian soldiers, and that Washington increase its military aid 10-fold — to more than \$6 million per year.

The Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers (CATH), supporting the demonstration, stated, "George Shultz has entered the country to give the army money to buy arms so they can continue to kill the people's children."

"We say: No!" CATH continued. "Our problem today is to create jobs, develop agriculture, and give the people health care and education. Down with arms!"

Recall 1915 invasion

Among the placards the demonstrators carried was one that read, "The junta and the Americans — 1915." This refers to the 1915 U.S. invasion of Haiti.

This aggression and the nearly 20-year occupation that followed aimed to bring Haiti under direct U.S. economic and political control. The U.S. presence continued during the 29 years of the Duvalier dictatorship that was toppled earlier this year. Washington provided hundreds of millions of dollars and military assistance to the Duvalier tyranny.

Massive popular opposition to the Duvalier regime led to a wave of strikes and demonstrations that began in November 1985 and finally forced the dictator to flee on Feb. 7, 1986. Before he left, however, Duvalier appointed General Namphy to head a military junta to rule the country.

Popular protests continue

On June 10 a broad coalition of unions, political parties, human rights groups, and associations of peasants, women, and youth organized a one-day general strike against the junta. They demanded the ouster of junta member Col. William Regala and Finance Minister Lesly Delatour.

Regala, who heads the army and police, became a target of protests after his troops killed eight people in an attack upon a peaceful demonstration April 26. Delatour has proposed closing important state-owned factories, a move that will throw thousands out of work in Haiti, where unemployment is already above 50 percent.

The coalition that organized the protest action has become the Liaison Committee of Democratic Forces. It opposes the junta and calls for the establishment of a civilian government.

On June 5 the National Federation of Haitian Students (FENEH) began a 46-day strike, demanding the ouster of Regala and Delatour. A rally of 2,000 on July 14 was the high point of their protest.

During the week of July 28, FENEH also organized a series of political and cultural activities to protest U.S. intervention in Haiti. The major theme was "Our country is not for sale." July 28 was the 71st anniversary of the 1915 U.S. invasion.

Haitian peasants are also protesting. A group from the Fort Liberté area is demanding that the government take land from wealthy landowners — including relatives of the former dictator — and distribute it among 2,000 poor families.

More than 3,000 peasants from Jean-Rabel signed a letter denouncing local government officials for violent attacks and stealing land from poor peasants. They

called for the formation of local peasant councils and demanded that the government allow peasants to elect their local officials every two years.

Repression against activists

As these protests continue, Haitian activists report an increase in violent attacks by thugs and death squads — similar to the violence used by the Duvalier regime to silence and eliminate opponents. Some of these attacks have been carried out by known members of the Tontons Macoutes, private thugs under the Duvalier regime. Tens of thousands of them are still at-large in the country.

On July 26 nine armed men in plain clothes ransacked the home of Sylvio Claude, president of the Haitian Christian Democratic Party.

On July 28 a radio journalist, Jean Ronel, was beaten in Fort Liberté by two members of the Calixte family, who were local supporters of the Duvalier regime.

On August 8 journalists Clifford Larose of *Haiti Progrès* and Lys Pierre Louis of Agence-France Presse were arrested and beaten by plainclothes police.

On August 9 the home of opposition leader Evans Paul was machine gunned. Other journalists critical of the junta have received death threats.

In two separate attacks August 4 and 7, three workers returning home late at night in working-class neighborhoods in Port-au-Prince were shot dead by unknown attackers in civilian vehicles.

Protests continue despite these attacks, however.

After Shultz's visit, 233 church activists issued a statement denouncing violence by the junta and the Macoutes and calling on the government to "stop selling the country to the Americans."

The Liaison Committee of Democratic Forces and other groups oppose the junta's decree on political parties, which, among other things, requires parties to turn over a list of 5,000 members — opening them up for reprisals by the government and right-wing gangs.